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The Ancient Cathedral Of Cornwall Historically Surveyed

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THE
ANCIENT CATHEDRAL
OF
CORNWALL.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

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HISTORICALLY SURVEYED.

By JOHN WHITAKER, B. D.
RECTOR OF RUAN-LANYHORNE, CORNWALL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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CORNWALL

HISTORICAL SURVEY

BY JOHN WHITTAKER, D.D.

LECTURER OF RHETORIC, CORNWALL

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VOL. I.

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ANCIENT CATHEDRAL

to those rude barbarians who had come from the shores of the Baltic, and whom they had half raised into knowledge, while these had wholly

depressed them into ignorance. So much heavier is the scale of ignorance in man, than that of knowledge! This we see strikingly exemplified in the early history of Cornwall, which in general we can begin

only where the annals of its Saxon invaders begin; and for which, as the sun of history has not yet risen, we can

derive an illumination only from the very moon, that was then shining with the rays of the sun of knowledge, yet serving to

dispel the darkness.

CORNWALL

HISTORICALLY SURVEYED.

CHAPTER FIRST.

THE history of man, so voluminous and bulky at present, is very slight and slender in all the early period of it. Either the writing of history was an employ unpractised by the first ages; or time and war have united since, to sweep away the writings. Thus man even knew not his own origin, before the Hebrew scriptures disclosed the secret to him. The world, therefore, might well be ignorant, before, of the origin of the nations within it. The history of the world and of man, indeed, stood then like a colossal statue of antiquity, that had accidentally lost its head. Even since the divine history has given a beginning to the human annals, and so has replaced the head upon the statue; much darkness still spreads over the particular origin of nations. The head of this statue, like the head of the Nile's at Rome, is still wrapped up in a veil. Nor do we know, with any degree of accuracy, the primary period of the history of any one nation in Europe. This is apparently the case in our domestic annals; and in that very period of them too, which is not prior to the Romans. We know nothing almost of the early transactions of the WELSH or of the CORNISH, before the Saxons came to invade them, and so united their history with their own. Thus two large communities of Britons, which had been composed each of united

tribes of Britain, and enlightened all by the rays of the literature of Rome, even more enlightened still by the bright beams of the Gospel, sunk back into the darkness nearly of their original history; and owe the main knowledge of their own annals immediately after the Roman departure, to those rude barbarians who had come from the shores of the Baltic, and whom they had half raised into knowledge, while these had wholly depressed them into ignorance. So much heavier is the scale of ignorance in man, than that of knowledge! This we see strikingly exemplified in the early history of CORNWALL; with which in general we can begin only where the annals of its Saxon invaders begin; and for which, as the sun of history was then set among the Cornish themselves, we can derive an illumination only from the very moon, that was then shining with the rays of the sun, faint, indeed, in the reflection, yet serving to dispel the darkness.

By this kind of moonlight I mean to direct my course in making my survey of the ancient cathedral of Cornwall. Yet I hope to collect the beams so carefully into one focus, as to find them combining into some degree of lustre, and lighting me with truth along the winding path to my point. In that hope, therefore, I set out; expecting, however, not to find my point within the petty circle of any one parish, or even the ample orbit of a whole county, but to trace it steadily across the island, and to pursue it occasionally into the continent.

SECTION I.

THE Saxons, who had come as auxiliaries to the Britons, but turned their arms against their employers, had gradually won their way by battles and by sieges, by victories and by conquests, from the eastern coast of Kent, over the whole nearly of Roman Britain, from the brink of the Channel on the south, to the friths of Forth and Clyde on the north. Then, with that spirit of hostility which is ever ready in the vitiated heart of man, they had turned their arms against each other; and the seven

seven kingdoms which they had erected upon the ruins of the British empire, contended together for a supremacy over all. The first and weakest of all the seven (Kent) had a full right, in reason, to this honour: but how little does reason avail to convince, when power is prompt to decide! In that decision, the kingdom of the West Saxons, the very neighbours of the Cornish, was finally successful. The honour, so obtained, rose into power; and their capital, WINCHESTER, became THE METROPOLIS OF ALL ENGLAND*. Thus did the whole weight of England appear to centre now in the very vicinity of Cornwall. But this was hardly effected, when the reduction of the little kingdom of the Cornish, apparently menaced by an union of the Saxons under one head so near, was prevented by a very extraordinary incident. A new swarm of Saxons, as it were, came from the same shores, and began the same invasions, under the new appellation of Danes. These also made their way with fire and sword, through all the Saxon regions of the island. These, too, fixed themselves in settlements of conquest, upon various parts of them. Yet the genius of West Saxony struggled with vigour against them; even recovered all their conquests from them, and brought all the Danish settlers into submission. Thus was the reduction of Cornwall again menaced, by the reviving supremacy over all England in its near neighbours the West Saxons.

* This metropolitical sovereignty of Winchester, which lasted from the days of Egbert, and his reduction of the heptarchy into one kingdom, in 827, to the settlement of the Confessor upon Thorney isle, about 1046 (Saxon Chronicle, Gibson), that first commencement of Westminster (and the consequences of which, if it had been continued to these days, fancy may readily picture to itself in the changes that it would have wrought, upon the relative states of Winchester and London at present), has scarcely a shadow now remaining of itself. The only memorials, slight as they are, I suppose to be *the statute of Winchester*, as it is called, though “made at Westminster 8 die Octobris, an. 13 E. I.—An. Dom. 1285;” and what is known only by custom in its appellation, being never noticed in the early parts of our statute-book, being, indeed, superseded there by the measure of London (anno 31 E. I. and anno Dom. 1302); yet so familiar to us in every quarter of the kingdom at present, *the Winchester bushel*. This is first noticed by its proper name, in 22 Ch. II. chap. viii. as “the standard marked in his Majesty’s exchequer commonly called the Winchester measure, containing eight gallons to the bushel,” and existing still the only legal measure for corn throughout the whole kingdom.

In this state of the country, when the only remains of unconquered Britons survived in Cornwall, in Wales, and in Cumberland; Athelstan, the son of Edward, and the grandson of Alfred, ascended the throne of West Saxony in the year 925†. The next year he married his sister Eadgytha to Sihtric, the Danish sovereign under him of that Northumbria, which had been for some time Danish; who, fearing the power or spirit of his acknowledged lord, and offering to renounce the Danish paganism which he had hitherto retained, solicited by proxy and in person this close connexion with Athelstan‡. But such was the instability of the barbarian's mind, and such the precipitancy of his measures, that he soon repented of what he had done, divorced himself from his queen, and flew off from his Christianity, restoring the native idolatry of Denmark, and renouncing the supremacy of Athelstan§. All this, indeed, was executed with such a rapid revolution of ideas, that the whole passed within the compass nearly of a single year*. Such conduct naturally excited the highest indignation in the breast of Athelstan. As a brother, as a king, and as a Christian, he had the strongest reasons for that resentment against Sihtric, which he immediately displayed by marching with an army towards Northumbria. But Sihtric died before Athelstan reached it; as cowardly as he was base, I suppose, dying from mere fear of the lion which he had roused by his injuries, and which he

† Sax. Chron.

‡ Malmesbury, f. 27; Savile; and Mat. Westm. 360, London, 1570. Concerning Malmesbury, thus panegyrically, and yet justly, does Leland speak: "Quoties in manus sumo" (sumo autem cum frequentissimè tum lubentissimè) toties vel admirari coger hominis "diligentiam, felicitatem, judicium; diligentiam, quòd passim ostendat se ingentem bonorum "autorum numerum legisse; felicitatem, quòd illorum elegantiam et nervos æmulus ipse in "suis elucubrationibus bellè exprimat; judicium denique, quòd multa ab aliis temerè scripta "ad incudem revocet, revocataque luci et veritati restituat." (Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, by Hall, Oxford, 1709, p. 195.) But behold the close of this magnificent eulogium! "Obiit verò Meilduni" (at Malmesbury), "ubi et sepultus fuit: sed cum ego "nuper Meilduni essem, et locum ejus sepulturæ quærerem, *tam obscurus suis monachis fuit,* "ut unus aut alter tantum nomen in memoriâ retinuerit." (P. 196.) So precarious is fame in the mouth and memory of man!

§ M. Westminster, 360.

* Malmesbury, f. 27. "Post annum."

know to be advancing with vengeance on its brow towards him†. He thus took refuge from Athelstan, in the grave; but Godefrid, his son by a former marriage, remained. This son had certainly engaged with his father in the rebellion against Athelstan. He had also instigated his father, probably, to the divorcement of the queen his step-mother, and to the supersedence of Christianity again by the paganism of Denmark. He had accordingly taken possession of the throne on the death of his father, and continued the rebellion which his father had begun‡: but now, as Athelstan approached, Godefrid, conscious of all his offences, and sensible of his great weakness, fled from York the metropolis of Northumbria: then York opened its gates to the Saxons. Their monarch afterwards took the castle, which the Danish kings had erected for their residence; divided the very ample booty within it, which Godefrid in the hastiness of his flight had left behind him, man by man to his soldiery; and, in the warmth of his resentment against the family of Sihtric, or in the heat of his resolution to terminate the Danish sovereignty of Northumbria for ever, levelled the whole palace to the ground§.

† Malmesbury, f. 27, "Vitâ deturbatus;" M. Westminster, 360, "Mirabiliter terminavit," and "Malè periit."

‡ Florence of Worcester, 348, London, 1592, "Guthferdo qui patri in regnum successerat."

§ Malmesbury, f. 27. The site of the palace or castle, I suppose, is what Leland thus notices: "The plotte of this castelle is now caullid *the Old Baile*, and the area and ditches "of it do manifestley appere." (Itin. i. 58, edit. third, 1770.) Of Leland's learning the literary world talks loudly, and I shall have a thousand occasions to speak hereafter. But of what is infinitely superior to learning, the goodness of his heart, or (to use a more proper expression) the dignity of his spirit, the world says nothing, and I wish to speak here. Bale, in a letter to him, therefore flattering him probably, yet by the very flattery proving what character he wished to bear, writes thus of him: "Carnalibus curis alienus, tuique quodammodo oblitus, honorem spernis, spernis et divitias, dum, parvulâ cellâ sæpius inclusus, aliis "prodesse studueris assiduè." (Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, Oxford, 1772, i. 86.) Accordingly Leland himself cries out in this elevated tone of voice, concerning a scholar successively made archbishop, patriarch, and cardinal: "Ecce blandientis fortunæ munera, quibus quos vult beat! quanquam, si mihi liceret dicere citra offensam quod sentio, tantum "abest ut hujusmodi sortis homines beatos putem, ut *mediocritatem tutam et privatam longè "præferam.*" (De Script. Brit. 340.) MECUM, ET CUM JOVE, SENTIT.

Having

Having done this, with the same resolution or in the same resentment, he advanced to Bamborough in Northumberland; which was the original capital of the Northumbrian kingdom, when the kingdom was only a county, and Northumbria confined to Northumberland. This was still maintained for Godefrid, though he himself had fled farther to the north||; but Athelstan took it*, and pursued his successes by following Godefrid to his place of retreat. This young prince, whom we might pity as unfortunate if we did not consider him as guilty, had now deserted Northumbria entirely, and taken refuge with Constantine king of the Scots†; the dominions of Scotland *then* coming no lower than the friths of Forth and Clyde, and there meeting the dominions of Northumbria. Athelstan therefore sent his ambassadors to this king, demanding the royal refugee from him, and denouncing war against him if he refused to comply‡. Constantine refused, for Athelstan marched on. In that vigour of resolution, and with that promptness of action, which seem to have strongly marked the character of this Saxon monarch, he invaded the country of the Scots. Constantine engaged him in the field, but Athelstan was victorious§. This blow humbled the honest pride of the Scottish sovereign. He found himself obliged to do what he had honourably refused before. He prepared to deliver up the king who had fled for refuge to him, but took care probably to give him notice of his preparation. Godefrid escaped, and threw himself upon the honour of an adjoining sovereign. He had little choice to make; but he now fled to a king much less able to protect him than the Scottish, yet marked

|| Malmesbury, f. 27.

* Florence, 348, "Aldredum—de regiâ urbe—expulit."

† Malmesbury, f. 27.

‡ Malmesbury, *ibid.*

§ Florence, 348, "Regem Scotorum Constantinum—prælio vicit et fugavit." The Saxon Chronicle says, that Athelstan invaded Scotland with forces by land *and sea*, and ravaged *much* of it; two circumstances undoubtedly false, as contradicted equally by the tenour and by the dates of the facts here. He advanced only towards Scoon, I apprehend, then the seat of the Scottish sovereigns, and ever since therefore the scene of their coronation; and, in the same train of moulding the past events of history in order to please the present generation of readers, of stifling facts in order to flatter folly, the Scottish Chronicle has suppressed this whole transaction. Boecius, iv. 21, 24.

out by fame (I apprehend) for a high spirit of heroism and honour. This was Eugenius, Ewen, or Owen, the sovereign of Cumbria||, whose kingdom appears, from the present history, to have been merely the county of Cumberland, and whose capital equally appears from that, as well as other authorities, to have been Penrith*.

Athelstan accordingly sent his ambassadors to Owen, as he had sent to Constantine before. Owen refused, like Constantine; and Athelstan began his march into Cumberland. Owen was unable to face him in the field, as Constantine faced; and Athelstan marched towards the capital, without encountering any opposition. Owen therefore was obliged to submit, like Constantine; and prepared, like him, to give up his royal refugee†. But Godefrid again fled; now took the desperate resolution

|| Malmesbury, f. 27, "Eugenium regum Cumbrorum;" and Leland's Collectanea, i. 330, edition second, 1770, from a chronicle now unknown, "Owino rege Cumbrorum." Boecius, iv. 24, in the sottishness of falsification, makes Owen a king from the donation of Constantine.

* Richards's Welsh Dictionary, "Penrhyn Rionedd, the seat of the princes of Cumbria." The full name of Penrith, therefore, is Penrhyn Rionedd, now contracted into Pen Rith. It was apparently at first the name of the strong castle, belonging to the king, standing (like our own Penryn in Cornwall and Penrin Point in Flintshire) at the termination of a ridge of hill, and thence overlooking the plain or beach below. (Leland's Itin. iv. 52, vii. 58, 60; Camden, 639, edit. 1607; and Gough's Camden, iii. 188, 189.) The other half of a name so extraordinarily preserved in the Welsh manuscripts, refers to the quality of the stones and soil with and on which it was built; Ruanaidh (Irish) signifying red, reddish, and Rionnadh (Irish) redness; terms that are now found only in the Irish branch of the British language, because they have been contracted in Welsh, in Cornish, in Armorick, into Rhêdh or Rethe (see Leland's Itin. iv. 56), Rydh, Ryudd; and Penrhyn Rionedd, by this process of contraction, shrinking up into Pen Rith, but still meaning the Red Prominence. "Penrith," notes Camden with his usual sagacity, "id est, si è Britannicâ linguâ interpretaris, *Caput vel Collis Ruber*; rubet enim terra, et saxa è quibus construitur." Mr. Pennant, in his Scotch Tour of 1769, ii. 43, octavo, argues this castle, by inference from a record, to be of no high antiquity, and not existing even as late as the reign of Henry III. when its *British* appellation proves it to have been built in the time of the *Britons*, when it is actually mentioned in the *British* manuscripts of Wales as the seat of the *British* kings of Cumbria, and when therefore Mr. Pennant's record can only shew it to have lain dismantled in the time of Henry.

† Malmesbury, f. 27.

of making a grand push for the recovery of his Northumbrian royalty; entered the country, accompanied only by one friend, the constant companion of his person, and the unshaken sharer of his misfortunes; yet was instantly joined by several of his *native* subjects, the Danes. With these he advanced boldly to the walls of York, the possession of which would give him great advantages. He tried by entreaties to win over the citizens, those natural defendants of a city when every citizen was a soldier, and the artificial idea of a garrison of regulars was yet unknown. But no entreaties could prevail upon them. He had recourse to threats; and threats were equally ineffectual. He was in no capacity either to lay formal siege to it, or to give it a brisk assault. He was obliged to abandon his enterprise, and to dismiss his soldiery; was then seized with his friend, and thrown into prison; but found means with him to elude his jailors, and escaped. Such are the strange vicissitudes of an adventurous life! Yet he retained so much of the mean and Danish turn for piracy as to embark in a piratical expedition upon the sea; soon lost his friend by shipwreck; suffered great hardships himself, by land or by water; but at last, with one of those turns, equally sudden and violent, which always mark the mind of barbarians, repaired as a suppliant—to the very court of Athelstan himself. There he was received in amity, and entertained with magnificence by this honourable, this splendid monarch, who had been bred a scholar, even aspired to be an author, and was therefore making the laurels of learning his shade against the heats of war*. His

* Leland de Script. Brit. 160: "Liquet Ethelstanum bonorum librorum fuisse amatorem, eundemque (ut ego inde colligo) rem literariam coluisse. Subserviunt et nostræ opinioni cujusdam non in-eruditi laudatoris Ethelstani versiculi:

"Extimuit rigidos, ferulâ crepitante, magistros;

"Et, potans avidis doctrinæ mella medullis,

"Decurrit teneros, sed non pueriliter, annos.

"At quæ Gulielmus [Malmesburiensis] adfert, longè (inquam) certiora sunt. Scribit enim Ethelstanum *usum fuisse calamo*, atque adeò se vidisse *librum ab eo scriptum*, quamvis in illo *Latinae linguæ puritatem desideret*. Ergone expungerem ex eruditorum albo tanti principis nomen, parvâ imperfecti styli maculâ aspersum? Non certè, cum magnis viris vel tentavisse ut Latine scriberent non leve sit. Mihi equidem mirum videtur, quo pacto aliquid linguâ peregrinâ exarare potuerit; præsertim, cùm esset tot Danicarum irruptionum procellis impetitus."

unlettered guest, however, by another revolution of mind as violent and as sudden as the former, in *four* days grew tired of the scene, returned to his ships, and recommenced his piracies*.

In the mean time Athelstan had reached the vicinity of Penrith, and took up his head-quarters to the south of the town, upon the river Eimot there, and within the walls of Dacor castle: but Constantine had generously come into Cumberland with his family to procure a peace for Owen; had come probably in the very army of the Saxons, the very society of Athelstan; and now repaired certainly to Owen in the castle of Penrith, to recommend submission to him. In Owen's situation, little urgency would be required. The only difficulty would be, the preservation of his honour to *him*, who had taken refuge under it. But this difficulty was removed probably by acting as Constantine had acted before, by giving Godefrid an intimation of his danger, and suggesting an immediate flight to him. Then Owen came out of his castle with Constantine, and waited upon the Saxon sovereign at Dacor, on *the twenty-ninth day of July*. Such confidence had Owen, like Godefrid and Constantine, in the honour of Athelstan! Passions at once so ferocious and so generous do the agitations of war produce in the mind of man! There they both entered into a submissive kind of alliance with him, and swore to the faithful observance of peace towards him. But in order to lend this compact of amity an indissoluble firmness, the binding obligations of Christianity were called in; an infant son of Constantine's, who had singularly been brought with him in this very view, was now baptized; and Athelstan stood godfather to him†.

SECTION

* Malmesbury, f. 27.

† Florence, 348: "li omnes, ubi se viderunt non posse strenuitati illius resistere, pacem ab eo petentes, in loco qui dicitur Eamotum quarto idûs Julii convenerunt," &c. Malmesbury, f. 27: "Ad locum qui Dacor vocatur venientes," &c.

This Eugenius, Ewen, or Owen, I believe to be the very personage, to whom belongs a remarkable sepulchre in Penrith churchyard, which has never yet been endeavoured to be historically appropriated. This is said, by tradition, to be "the grave of one Sir *Ewen* Cæsarius knight, in old time a famous warrior of great strength and stature (the grave being "about fifteen feet long), who lived in these parts, and killed *boars* [and robbers," Gough, iii.

SECTION II.

So far have I brought Athelstan on his way, in his march of conquests toward CORNWALL; and so particularly have I delineated his march, in order to throw a just light over this illustrious conqueror of the CORNISH! The very object of his expedition, indeed, was now obtained; but his

189] "in the forest of Englewood, which much infested the country." (Gibson, c. 11020.) This story is "universally credited by the vulgar inhabitants of Penrith." (Archæologia, ii. 48.) "The common vulgar report is," says another writer, "that one *Ewen* or *Owen* Cæsarius, a very extraordinary person, famous in these parts for *hunting* and *fighting*, about "1400 years ago, whom no hand but the hand of death could overcome, lies buried in this "place. That there might be in remote times, in these regions, men of large gigantic figures, "as there are now near the Magellanic Straits," an assertion, let us remember, long prior to the recent discovery of them by Captain Byron; "and that they *might affect Roman sur-* "names and distinctions, as the Americans about Darien do Spanish, needs not either to be "discussed or denied." (Dr. Todd in Pennant, i. 270, 271.) This tradition has been so far confirmed in digging, that "the great long hand-bones of a man, and a broad-sword," have been found in the grave. (Gough, iii. 189.) Nor was the person, whoever he was, buried here "about 1400 years ago." He was a *Christian*, as appears from the crosses on the pillars at the head and foot of his grave. Bishop Lyttelton, indeed, in Archæologia, ii. 48, speaks only of "a cross, which appears towards the summit of *one* of the pillars;" but one cross is as competent as two, to prove the Christianity of the interred: yet even the Bishop's own plate shews a cross upon *both*. So inattentive can antiquaries be at times, to the evidence which they produce themselves! Dr. Todd also notices *both*, as "two large stone pillars,—*cruciated* towards the top;" and Mr. Pennant equally describes *both*, as having "the relievo of a cross upon them." (ii. 40.) The person buried here thus appears evidently to have been buried, when Christianity had been *established*, even when *churchyards had been set out for sepulture*. This the site, the pillars, and the crosses, all unite to shew: and the very name unites with the history, to prove that grave the sepulchre of this king, *Owen Cæsarius*, who lived at Penrith in a period when Christianity was as much established as it is now, and churchyards were equally the repositories of the dead; when the Roman name of *Eugenius* had been formed by the Britons into the seemingly British appellation of *Ewen*, or *Owen*; when too the additional name of *Cæsarius*, like that of *Cessaryeid* for the Romans in the old manuscripts of Wales (Richards), was assumed and given to signify his Roman origin. Thus Ambrosius Aurelianus, the son of a British king, "parentibus purpurâ nimirum in- "dutus" (Gale, xxv.), was a Roman by descent, "*Romanæ gentis*" (*ibid.*).

activity of spirit had been whetted by his exertions, and brought to a fine edge by his successes. He therefore went on to a new enemy in the south.

There were several kings in North-Wales at this period ; these he required to wait upon him at Hereford. Impressed with a strong sense of his power, they actually came at his requisition. Then he demanded that they should own him for their paramount lord. They had already done this in fact, but were now called upon to do it in form ; yet so much more powerful is form than fact upon the mind of man, they were averse to do it. They were obliged, however, to submit* ; and Athelstan, with an edge still finer upon his spirits, flew to a new enemy farther in the south.

South-Wales had only one king at this period, though North-Wales had several. He was denominated by the Saxons the sovereign of Went, because his capital, called Caer Guent in Welsh, or Venta Silurum in Latin, was called Went in English. But his personal appellation was Wer†. He was more resolute than his brothers of North-Wales ; refused the submission which they had made, and came into the field with an army against Athelstan, heading his victorious Saxons. Athelstan and his Saxons, however, became more victorious still. Wer was beaten in battle, and compelled to submit‡. Athelstan then punished his resistance, by dismembering his kingdom ; took from him all that narrow region which lies between the Severn and the Wye, being the famous forest of Dean, made *this* river to be what it has been ever since, the eastern boundary of South-Wales ; and annexed *that* region of forest, as it has remained ever since annexed, to the English county of Gloucester§.

But

* Malmesbury, f. 27, "North-Wallensium."

† Florence, 348, "Regem Uentorum Wer;" M. Westm. 360, "Wlferthum," a Saxon name, "regem Wentorum;" and Hoveden, f. 242, Savile, "Regem—Wentorum "Wuer."

‡ Florence, 348, "Wer prælio vicit et fugavit."

§ Malmesbury, f. 28, "Amnem Waiaam limitem." Hence Griffin king of South-Wales, with some pirates from Ireland, in 1049 invaded England at this quarter. "Rex et ipsi pariter

But Althelstan had not yet completed his circuit of hostility round the island. Floating on a high sea of ambition, and borne on with violence by the tide of his successes, he now pushed up to the very margin of the island in the south. Triumphant over the Danes, the Scots, the Cumbrians, and the Welsh, he marched with all the splendour of victory, and all the power of an empire, to attack the CORNISH. Of these, by an astonishing fatality of illiterateness, we have not one native history, one native law, or even one native coin. We therefore know nothing of them in general, as I have intimated already, but what their enemies have been pleased to tell us. This, however, is very little as *national* intelligence; it is confined to a few solitary incidents, such as (to pass over some that are only of slight consequence, or may be noticed hereafter) the devastation committed by Egbert in 813, by over-running the country "from eastward to westward*;" the battle fought by his forces at Camelford in 823, in which the silence of the Saxon Chronicle concerning the issue, under the hands of that partial sagacity which is keenly on the watch to convert even silence into evidence, would intimate the Cornish to have been victorious, but is directly contradicted by another history, which says the Cornish were slaughtered†; the battle fought by Egbert himself in 835 against those Britons and Danes united, who had entered and ravaged England, but had retired at his approach, were pursued into Cornwall, were overtaken at Hengeston Hill, and there beaten with a considerable slaughter‡; with two that I am now preparing to relate; so forlorn and abandoned does Cornwall appear upon the face of our island history§!

At

"flumen, quod Weage nominatur, transeuntes, Dunedham incenderunt," burnt down the town of Dean, "et omnes quos ibi reperiebant perimerunt." (Florence, 409.)

* Saxon Chronicle. Gibson has translated "eastward" by "australi" (for "orientali") "parte."

† Sax. Chron. says only, that there was a battle; but Florence adds, that the Cornish "cæsi sunt." (P. 287.)

‡ Sax. Chron. and Florence, 291.

§ To these incidents, from Saxon historians, let me just add one that comes apparently from a Welsh pen, and has never been noticed before. "Ivor, Cadwaladri filius," says Leland in extracts from an anonymous chronicle of Wales, "successit. Obiit Cadwaladrus
"anno

At that grand æra of confusion to half the globe, the dissolution of the Roman empire, and the settlement of barbarians within it, new nations of natives seem to emerge into notice, as new appellations supersede the old, even in regions which were familiar to us before. The Britons of Kent, Sussex, and Wiltshire, of Bedfordshire, Cheshire, and Devonshire, of Somersetshire, Cornwall, and all England indeed, arise before us on the pages of history, under the new denominations of Wealas, Bryt-wealas, Wylise, or Walena*. The Armoricans of Gaule come to us in the same "questionable shape," seemingly different from themselves, and actually wearing the disguising title of Britons. The latter incident therefore has given rise to a report of an embarkation which was never made in our island, and of a settlement which was never attempted on the continent. The fabulists on both sides of the Channel are loud in their assertions of a large migration across it, of which they cannot produce one historical evidence, and for which they have only the shadowy authority of a name. They might with equal judiciousness assert an

"anno Dom. 680.—Bellum apud *Heyl* in *Cornubiâ*. Bellum Gard Mailanc. Bellum Pëntun: "In *his* bellis, *regnante Ivor*, Britones *vicerunt Saxones*." (Itin. viii. 86.) *Where* this battle was fought at *Heyl* in *Cornwall*, is pointed out to us by a circumstance, slight in itself, but useful in application. Dr. Borlase is the only person who has observed, that "at the mouth of this Heylford river," which peninsulates the region of Menege from the rest of Cornwall, and issues into the sea a little to the south-west of Falmouth, "there is a creek still called *Porth Saussen*, or Saxon's Port." Yet this creek does not, as the Doctor argues, "thereby shew itself to have been formerly *frequented* by the Saxons," as it proves itself to have been merely *used* by them. Much less does it appear to have been "*frequented* in the time of Constantius and his brothers." (Borlase's *Antiquities*, 302, edit. second.) This is much too early a date, for the Saxons frequenting a creek so remote and western as a Cornish one. It was in fact *used* by them about *three hundred years* later. Then they landed here, were here attacked, and here defeated with a slaughter so memorable as to fix the name of *the Saxon Port* for ever upon the place, and to be recorded with two other defeats of the Saxons in the same reign, even by the pen of a Welsh chronicler. The historical notice comes with a decisive sway to mark the signification of the name; and the name comes with a striking propriety to indicate the sense of the notice. The port lies on the *northern* side of the Heyl, but in the Great Map of Cornwall has no denomination at all: it has none, even in Borlase's *own* abstract of that map: it is marked, however, in the former as a nameless creek a little east of Durgan.

* Sax. Chron. p. 14, 15, 20, 22, 25, 70, 39, 45, 50, 70, and 23, 25.

irruption of the Welsh into Kent, and a settlement of the Walloons in Cheshire*. These new appellations were borne equally with the old, during the existence of the Roman empire; were only less familiar than the old, at *this* period; and came from various causes to supersede the old, in *that*. The Britons of Kent were denominated Welsh, while the Romans possessed the island; and were therefore noticed *as* Welsh, at the commencement of Saxon hostilities against them†. It was their generic name indeed, while that of Cantii was merely their provincial or national one; they, and all the other tribes which opposed Cæsar in his *second* expedition, being equally denominated by the very Chronicle of the Saxons, Bryt-walas; even all the tribes south of Severus's wall, being said in the same Chronicle to have had this wall erected by Severus for them as Brit-walum; and even all the tribes south of both the walls, Antoninus's, equally with Severus's, being averred as Bryt-walas to have implored assistance from Rome in 443‡. So the Gauls of Armorica were called Britons assuredly, as some Gauls of Picardy certainly were§; and as all the Gauls of our island avowedly were, at the time of the Roman reduction of them; yet were, from some circumstances unknown to us, generally called Armoricans then; and, from others equally unknown, were commonly entitled Britons afterward.

Thus the Britons, to the west of the Severn and the Dee, were denominated Wealas, or Welisse, by the Saxons||; are therefore denominated Welsh by ourselves; and, even as early as the sixth century, entitled their own country Wallia or Wales¶, yet have in all ages retained equally their primary names of Brython and Brythoneg, for themselves and for their language. Thus also the Britons of Cornwall, bearing the general title of Welsh, were distinctively entitled, at times, the Western Welsh, as

* Sax. Chron. 25.

† Sax. Chron. 14.

‡ Sax. Chron. 2, 7, 11.

§ Carte, i. 56.

|| Sax. Chron. 105, 163.

¶ Taliessin is cited by Dr. Davies, in his Welsh Grammar, as calling his own country, with a singular sort of ingenuousness, "Gwylt Wallia," or "Wild Wales."

the Britons of Wales were the Northern*; yet were occasionally called, as the more westerly Cornish formerly were, the Carnubii, or Cornubians; their country being considered to be the horn or *Kernou* of Britain, as Cornwall was called in its own language, or *Kerniw*, as it is still called in its kindred language the Welsh†. And at last, by the duplication of one name upon the other, so prefixing *Kernou* to *Wallia*, the land and the natives were denominated CORNU-GALLIA, or CORN-WALL, and CORN-WALLISH, or CORNISH. But, by the very same process of critical chemistry, the Gallic region at that angle of France which corresponds with this angle of Britain, assumed the very same appellation of *Cornu-gallia*, or *Corn-wall*. A religious clergyman of the name of Paul or Paulinus‡, who afterwards lent his name to that city of Bretagne in which he presided as a bishop, St. Paul de Leon§, and has equally lent it to one of our parishes in Cornwall, denominated Paulin in Pope Nicholas's Valor, but in Henry's, as in popular language now, *Paul*; is said to have lived a hermit in the sixth century "upon the isle of Osa, "which is separated in a direct passage from *the continent of Armorica*, "called CORNU GALLIÆ, by a sea of sixteen paces||." In the same century,

* Sax. Chron. A. D. 828, "North-Wealas;" A. D. 835, "West-Wealas;" Florence, 348, "Occidentalium Britonum;" 291, "Occidentalium Britonum terram quæ Curvalia vocatur;" Malmesbury, f. 27, "Occidentales Britones qui Cornwallenses vocantur;" and f. 28, "Aquilonaribus Britannis" for those on the Wye.

† Cornwall is called "Cornubiensis regio," so early as the sixth century, and by the writer of what is styled the Register of Llandaff. Usher's Brit. Eccles. Ant. p. 290, edit. 2d, 1687.

‡ Usher, 252.

§ Usher, ibid.

|| Usher, 290, from Aymoinus. "In Osâ—insulâ, quæ à continenti Armoricanæ regionis terrâ, quam Cornu Galliæ nominant, pelago sexdecim passuum in transversum "porrecto sejungitur." What name this isle of Osa now bears, let these reasons ascertain. It is certainly not Aix, as the correspondency of names leads the mind directly to suppose, because Aix is in the province of Poitou, not Bretagne, being at the mouth of the Charente, the river leading up to Rochfort. It is assuredly the isle denominated Saintes, from the residence of this and other saints upon it. It lies a little to the south of the opening into Brest harbour, and very near the shore; being formerly called, I suppose, like the isle in the Charente, Osa, or Aix. "Isle des Saints—n'est séparée d'une pointe de la Bretagne, dans "le diocese de Kimper, que par un canal d'environ 4000 toises," or nearly five miles.

(D'Anville's

tury, the sixth, one Budic is said expressly to have been born "in CORNU-GALLIA;" to have gone into South-Wales; to have there received an embassy "from his native region of CORNU-GALLIA," inviting him "to receive the royalty of *Armorica*;" to have reigned accordingly "over all *Armorica*;" and to have been visited by a Welsh bishop at "CORNU-GALLIA, which was afterwards called CERNIU Budic," from him*. *Cornwall*, therefore, was the appellation for the *whole* province of Bretagne, and has surprisingly remained the appellation for a *part* to the present day; a peninsular projection of the coast to the south of Brest, and near the city of Quimper, being called, though little known to be so, CORNOUAILLE, or Quimperentin now; just as our Cornwall is called *Corndille* in French at present, and "Cornu Galliæ" in Latin by an English writer of the twelfth century†.

Nor is this all the similarity between the two "chops of the channel." The *Damnonian* Britons of Devonshire, and their region *Domnonia*, as called in the middle ages, were answered by the region *Domnonée* in the north of Bretagne‡. The saints of Cornwall were by the
Armoricans

(D'Anville's Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, 596.) The sea has plainly gained upon the isle since the days of Paulinus; and thus has formed the breakers so formidable to a coasting navigation here, with a channel between the isle and the continent, deep enough (as the experience of our own sailors has very recently proved) to float one of our forty-gun ships of war. Yet D'Anville (727) fixes Osa at Ushant, from strangely reading the *sixteen paces* of Aymoinus into *twenty-six* miles. Ushant was really named so, as *Occident*; Nennius noticing *Armorica*, or Bretagne, as "ad Cumulum occidentalem, i. e. *Crut-Ochidenit*," for *Crug Ochident*. (C. xxiii.)

* Usher, 291: "Natus de Cornugalliâ;—de nativâ suâ regione Cornugalliâ;—ad recipiendum regnum *Armoricæ* gentis;—per totam *Armericam* terram;—Cornugalliam, quæ postea vocata Cerniu Budic."

† Malmesbury, 18 and 19, "Cornu Galliæ."

‡ Histoire de Bretagne, par Dom Gui Alexis Lobineau, 1707; a work more dignified in the encouragement than in the execution, if I may judge from the earlier part of the whole, tom. i. 6. "Le nom de Domnonée, que les Bretons donnerent à la partie septentrionale de la province." (i. 91.) "Toute la Domnonée, c'est à dire, les diocèses de S. Briec, de Treguer, de Dol, et de S. Malo." In the Life of Paul, the bishop of Leon, we find him attended at one time by "Induale cognomento Candido, Demononensis patriæ magnâ ex
" parte

Armoricans adopted for their saints, and assumed for their countrymen§. Even particular appellations of places are exactly the same in both regions||. The communication between Bretagné and our Cornwall appears to have been great in the sixth century*, to have been continued for several centuries afterwards†, and to have lasted as late as the middle of the sixteenth‡; even (I suppose) till the incorporation of Bretagné into the realm of France in 1532, annihilated eventually all provincial connexions, and absorbed them in the general interests of national policy. That, however, did not (as may be presumed by those who never contemplate more than a single grain of sand at a time, who therefore do not ever consider it as in union with the whole mass) *generate* the identity of names in the two regions, but *continue* them; did not unite with the identity of language, just as wonderfully preserved in Bretagné as in Cornwall, by the long detachment of both from the rest of the country, to *create*, but to *transmit*, local appellations exactly the same in both. Just in this very manner we see at or about the concluding residence of the Romans upon the isle, Cimbri in Cornwall, Cymro in Wales, and Cumbri in Cumberland§; Carnabii, or Cornabii, in Scotland, with Carnabii, or Cornavii, in Cheshire, and Carnabii in Cornwall; Damnii or Damnonii, in Scotland; Damnii in Ireland; Dumnonii, Domnonii, or Damnonii, in Devonshire||. So clearly was all this coincidence of appellations derived, not, as nodding criticism or dream-

parte duce nobilissimo." (Usher, 290.) Malmesbury, 18, "Domnonia quæ Deveneschire." Florence, 362, "In Domnoniâ et in ipsâ Cornubiâ."

§ Histoire de Bretagné, i. 9.

|| Histoire, i. 92, "Kerahez, autrement Carhais." So Carhayes in Cornwall is sometimes written Cherryhayes. See also iv. 5, hereafter, for *Corsult*.

* Usher, 290.

† Usher, 293.

‡ Leland's Itin. ii. 114.

§ In Llavarch Hên, a bard of Cumberland, but a refugee in Powis, we have the latter country called "Powys paraduys Gymri." (Lhuyd, 259.)

|| Ptolemy, Richard, and Solinus. These and other variations of the last name, as Donii, Dumnani, Dumnunnii, in Ravennas and Antoninus, serve to evince, that *Danmonii*, as it has been recently affected to be read, and as Richard's map actually reads it, is only a false formation of the word.

ing tradition would willingly surmise, from the successive propagation of colonies, but, as all the facts unite to attest, from the same circumstances attracting the same appellations in the same language! The last name in all its variations originates from a circumstance still existing universally among the natives; the practice of fixing their houses in the bottoms, to shelter themselves from the winds, that beat with uncommon violence upon this exposed point of the island; a practice familiar to this, with other regions of the isle at first, but preserved still in this, because of that violence. In the other regions, the wild elements of the isle have been tamed, by the excision of those woods or forests, and by the draining of those marshes, mosses, or lakes, which were continually engendering cold and wind; while the protrusion of the land in one long, but gradually contracted prominence from Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, to meet the extended waves of the vast Atlantic, and to encounter the storms of the stormiest part of it, the Bay of Biscay, is a geographical particular which must remain for ever*.

Thus circumstanced, the Damnonian Britons to the tenth century maintained their ground against the Saxons, as far to the east as the river Exe. Such were the dimensions of Cornwall in 927! The Cornish then preserved nearly all their old possessions safe from the rapacity of their Saxon auxiliaries. Their capital, Exeter, they had lost; but they had equal access to it with the Saxons themselves, it being all open or unwall'd, and had equal habitations in it†. In this manner had the Cornish and the English lived for some generations; mixing together at this common point of their confines, and preparing their spirits gradually for

* Dufn (W.) is deep, as Doun (A.) is, and Dwnfder (W.) depth or deepness, Dyfneint (W.) Devonshire, Dyfet (W.) the Demetæ of Wales, and the Dobuni aliàs Boduni, the inhabitants in the *bottoms* of Gloucestershire, as opposed to the dwellers on the Cotswold hills, or to the Otadini of Northumberland. Yet the Osti-Damnii of Strabo probably, and the Fir-Domhnon of Ireland, certainly are derived from colonies, as the accompanying Fir-Bolg of the latter equally are. History is thus to be the leader, not (as she is too often made) the follower; of Etymology.

† Malmesbury, 28, "Excestra, quam ad id temporis æquo cum Anglis jure inhabitant."

a full incorporation. But Athelstan now came. He wanted not to disturb the serenity, yet resolved to have his sovereignty acknowledged by the king of Cornwall, as it had already been by the kings of Wales. HOWEL was then king[‡]; bearing a name as familiar in Cornwall still, as it formerly was in Wales. But our Howel was as little inclined as his brothers of Wales, to own the supremacy of Athelstan. He even came into the field, like the king of South-Wales, to engage in battle with the Saxons. Athelstan, therefore, attacked him with vigour[§]. The battle was plainly fought near Exeter, and probably upon Haldon Hill. Howel and his Cornish were beaten, as Wer and his Welsh had been before^{||}. This victory was decisive; all resistance was crushed at once, and the crown of Cornwall became subordinate to the crown of England. Cornwall also, like South-Wales, lost much of its territories. With its share of Exeter, it lost all its land betwixt the Exe and the Tamar. *All Devonshire* now became for ever a part of England. The Tamar now formed, as it forms at this day, the contracted limit between England and Cornwall*. And this was the æra of the first subjugation of the Cornish to the English[†].

Yet the subjugation was little more than nominal in its efficacy. It affected the sovereign, but reached not to the subject. It deprived the former of that independency, which is generally so dear to the heart of every individual, and so material in its consequences to a sovereign. But

[‡] Florence, 348, "Regem—Occidentalium Britonum *Huivalum*." He is called *Hunwal* by M. Westm. 360; *Hawald*, by Hoveden, 242; *Huwal*, by the Chronicle of Mailros, 147, Oxon, 1684; and *Hoel* by Higden, 262. Gale, vol. i. I note vol. i. of Gale, though the title-page promises only one volume, and has deceived many by its words; because the very next page speaks of volumes two: "continentur in *primo* volumine," &c. "continentur in *secundo* volumine," &c. This real king of Cornwall is all unnoticed by Dr. Borlase, 410, while a number of imaginary kings or princes is specified by him; just as the idol was worshipped, while the Deity was forgotten.

[§] Malmesbury, 27, 28, "Impigrè adorsus."

^{||} Florence, 348, "Huivalum—prælio vicit et fugavit." The name, then, would be derived from the incident, *Hoel-don* corrupted into *Hal-don*.

* Malmesbury, 28: "Ab Excestrâ—cedere compulit, terminum provinciæ suæ citra "Tambram fluvium statuens."

[†] Higden, 263, "Cornugalliam subegit."

such an independency is only a feather of glass, glittering in the cap of a subject, and ready at every motion to drop into pieces. Yet national pride usefully considers it in an important light; thinks it as solid as it is glittering, and frequently exerts itself with a virtuous energy, to preserve or to recover it. Howel and his Cornish appear to have done so at present, as we find Athelstan entering the country, *nine years afterward*, traversing it with an army from end to end, then embarking his forces at the western extremity of it, and with them reducing the Sylley isles. These were an appendage to Cornwall, which must always have belonged to its domain. These, therefore, had submitted in 927, with the rest of the kingdom; and could only be in arms against Athelstan at present, because all Cornwall was. The Cornish had thrown off their constrained submission to the English. Athelstan had entered their country, to reduce them. Then their king Howel, like Godefrid of Northumbria, Constantine of Scotland, Owen of Cumberland, and the kings of Wales, found all active resistance vain. For that reason, no battles were fought by him at *this* invasion. Had there been any, history must have noticed *them* as it notices the *one* before. History in general, and the history of this period in particular, is nothing more than a narration of battles. The Cornish, like the Northumbrians and Cumbrians, submitted every where without opposition. Athelstan advanced towards the Land's End, in order to embark his army for the Sylley isles. About four miles from it, but directly in the present road to it, as he was equally pious and brave, he went into an oratory, which had been erected there by a holy woman of the name of BURIEN, that came from Ireland, and was buried in her own chapel. Here he knelt down in prayer to God, full of his coming expedition against the Sylley isles, and supplicating for success to it; then, in a strain of devoutness that is little thought of now, but was very natural to a mind like his, at once munificent and religious, he vowed, if God blessed his expedition with success, to erect a college of clergy where the oratory stood, and to endow it with a large income. So, at least, said the tradition at St. Burien's itself, no less than two centuries and a half ago! And a tradition like *this*, with all the congruities of history upon it, and with that collateral support from history in the main point, which I shall soon produce, becomes

comes history itself. He set out with his armament for Sylley. From the necessity of crossing the sea, and so trying his fortune upon a new element, the success appeared dubious, even to the vigorous mind of an Athelstan. He succeeded, however; reduced all the isles, and returned victorious to the Land's End. He had thus completed the conquest of Cornwall. He suffered, indeed, the sovereign of it still to retain the name of sovereign for his life; as, in a charter given by Athelstan, in 938, and dated at Dorchester, the names of some "sub-reguli," or subordinate kings who subscribed it, are "Eugenius," the king of the Cumbrians before, and "Howell," the preceding king of the Cornish †. But Athelstan exercised all the rights of sovereignty himself. This he did in intention, when he vowed the college to St. Burien; and this he did in act, when he ordered it to be erected on his return. He went to the oratory of St. Burien again; presented thanks to God for his success, where he had prayed for it; ordered a church to be erected there for the use of the parish, and a college of clergy to minister in it; assigned it a quantity of lands, that had fallen to him by right of conquest, for its endowment; and gave it the privileges of a sanctuary. But, what forms a strong proof of the general justness of the tradition, the church is actually noticed in Domesday Book, about a hundred and thirty years only after this period, as a college of canons even then, possessing an estate denominated *Eglos-Burien*, from its attachment to their church, yet exempt from all assessments whatever. This even continues to the present moment *a royal free chapel* in the patronage of the crown, and with a jurisdiction so independent of the ordinary, that the only remaining member of the whole body, its head the dean, receives his institution, and takes his oaths before the king himself, as his ordinary §.

All

† Malmesbury, lib. v. De Pontif. in Gale, i. 364. "Subscripsere sub-reguli, Eugenius, Howell, Morrant, Indual." The two last were assuredly kings of North-Wales.

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 18: "S. Buriana, an holy woman of Ireland, sumtyme dwellid in this place, and there made an oratory. King Ethelstan, founder of S. Burien's college, and giver of the privileges and sanctuarie to it. King Ethelstan goyng hens, as it is said, onto Sylley, and returning, made, *ex voto*, a college where the oratorie was." Camden,

All this denotes the high exertion of sovereignty by Athelstan in the liveliest colours. He seems to have then made a triumphant progress through the country, and to have marked his movements by equal acts of pious liberality in equal displays of his Cornish sovereignty. The town of PADSTOW, in the days of Leland, considered Athelstan to be “the chief gever of privileges onto it*,” that is, as appears from the same language concerning the college and church of St. Buriën itself†, to be the builder of its church, the erector of its college, and the presenter of the lands to both. He thus became the second father of the town. “This town,” adds Leland, “is *auncient*, bering the name of Lodenek yn Cornische‡;” which intimates only the quality of its site, and signifies merely the bank of the river on which it stands§. That this was a port-town in the days of Cornish independency, is confirmed by an incident of the sixth century. In 518 Petrock, the son of a king of Cumbria, who had resigned his right of succession to the throne, in order to form himself with some others into a monastic society; who had afterwards gone over to Ireland, spent twenty years there in the cultivation of letters or the study of the Scriptures, and then retired into Cornwall; landed at

136: “Viculus nunc illi insidet, St. Buriën’s, olim *Eglis Buriens*, i. e. Ecclesia Buriënæ,—dictus, Buriënæ religiosæ mulieri Hibernicæ sacer.—Huic, ut fama perhibet, asyli jus concessit rex Athelstanus, cum e Syllinis insulis hinc victor appulisset. Certum est, illum ecclesiam hinc construxisse, et sub Gulielmo Conquestore canonicorum hinc fuisse collegium, et territorium adjacens ad eos spectasse.” Domesday Book, fol. 121: “Canonici S. Berrione tenent *Eglos-berrie*, quæ fuit libera tempore regis Edwardi. Ibi est i hida, terra viii carucatarum. Ibi est dimidium carucatæ et vi villani et vi bordarii et xx acræ pasturæ. Valet x solidos. Quando comes terram accepit, valebat xl solidos.” See also Tanner’s *Notitia Monastica* for Cornwall, edit. 1787, by Nasmith; and my v. i. hereafter.

* Leland’s Itin. ii. 114.

† Leland’s Itin. ii. 18: “King Ethelstan, founder of S. Buriën’s college, and—giver of the privileges—to it.”

‡ Itin. ii. 114.

§ *Lhêd-ymil* (Welsh) is the coast or border of a country (*Lhuyd* under *Ora*), *Llydaw* (Welsh and Cornish), of or belonging to a shore, latinized into *Armuirc-læthana* in the middle ages (*Usher*, 129), *Letewiccion* (*Nennius*, xxiii.), *Leteoc*, *Lati*, *Letavienses* (*Usher*, *ibid.*), *Lidwiccium* (*Sax. Chron.* p. 88, 115), the inhabitants of *Bretagne*, and *Ladu* or *Ladri* (*Borlase*), a bank. *Loden-ek*, therefore, is the brim or brink of the water.

this

this port-town, as history unites with tradition to shew*. In this state Athelstan found the town, carrying on an intercourse with Ireland†, and built upon the bank of the Alan; but he most probably SETTLED A COLONY OF ENGLISH at it, as the ancient and Cornish name of the town was now thrown off by the inhabitants; and as the town now took the new, the English appellation of its second founder, being called, says Leland, “ yn Englisch, after the *trew* and old writings, ADELSTOW, “ Latinè, LOCUS ATHELSTANI ‡.” This assertion of Leland’s, however extraordinary in itself, however unnoticed by Dr. Borlase, yet so signally coinciding with history, is decisively corroborated by the testimony of a record; the church of this town being noticed as late as Pope Nicholas’s Valor in 1292, by the title of “ Ecclesia de *Aldestowe*,” instead of “ *Adelstowe* §.” For that very reason, by the saint superseding the sovereign, the name of *Adelstow* has been since commuted into *Petrock-stow*, or *Pad-stow*; and this Cornish town bears a name that is half of it, if not the whole, purely English at present||.

The town of BODMIN also, in Leland’s time, retained a grateful memory of Athelstan’s kindness to it. That “ *toune*,” he says, “ takith king “ *Edelstan* for the chief erector and gyver of privileges onto it¶.” This was equally as at Burien, by founding its monastery, and so creating its

* Usher, 292 and 526, from Tinmouth’s Life of Petrock, and from Leland’s account of him in his treatise De Script. Brit. But in Leland’s Itin. viii. 54, we have these extracts from an ancient Life of Petrock, the very authority on which Tinmouth perhaps, and Leland certainly, writes: “ Ex Vitâ Petroci, ‘ Petrocus genere Camber [Cumber], Petrocus 20 annis “ studuit in Hiberniâ,’ ” &c. Tradition still reports the fact of his arrival at Padstow. See chap. iv. sect. vi. hereafter.

† This intercourse continued to the days of Leland, Itin. ii. 114; though it is all lost now.

‡ Itin. ii. 114.

§ See Wilkins’s Concilia, ii. 180, for settling the varied date of this Valor.

|| Camden, 140: “ *Padstow*—contractè pro *Petrock-stow*, ut in Sanctorum historiis legitur.” Leland’s Itin. ix. xxxii.: “ *Adelstow*, id est, *Aedelstani Locus*, oppidum piscatoribus cognitissimum, quod vulgò *Padstow* vocatur, argumento, et quidem manifesto, est “ *victoriæ*,” of Athelstan’s victorious reduction of Cornwall.

¶ Leland’s Itin. ii. 115.

town. "The first founder," adds Leland from the very charters of donation to the monastery, "was **ATHELSTAN**;" then annexes on the margin what marks the actual year of the foundation, and serves to ascertain the identical year of all these transactions; his pen giving us these numerals thus corrected, "An^o. * 9³26 †."

Yet another event of history coincides with all in its general notation, and confirms all by its particular adjunct. Athelstan appears from his own charter, existing at SAINT GERMAN'S in the days of Leland, to have *there* made donations of lands to the church, and to have *there* given a bishop to the diocese, **IN THE SAME YEAR 936, but ON THE FIFTH OF DECEMBER** in it †.

SECTION III.

THE entire conquest of Cornwall being thus shewn to have been made by Athelstan in 936; and Athelstan being thus proved to have signalized the year of his conquest, by the wise measures which he took in that year for securing them, by conciliating his newly-acquired subjects, with acts of pious liberality to their country, and with deeds of devout reverence to their saints; I go on to point out what was the seat of the Cornish bishoprick, St. German's or Bodmin, before or under this new supremacy of England. Gross mistakes have been made upon the subject, but I hope to rectify them. The study of antiquarian literature is yet in its infancy only among us; and the manly deduction of inference from premises judiciously stated, has been little practised hitherto by our antiquaries.

To St. German's, as Camden tells us, "the bishop's see was translated," from what place he does not express, but certainly means from

† Leland's Coll. i. 75, "Primus fundator Æthelstanus."

‡ Coll. i. 75, "Ex chartâ donat. Æthelstani anno Dⁿⁱ 936, nonis Decembris."

Bodmin, "for greater safety in the time of the Danish wars;" though, in the very line preceding, he acknowledges St. German's to be merely "a village" at that period. Where then could possibly exist "the greater safety" of the see? "The bushopes sea," with more explicitness adds Norden, who wrote his work in 1584, "was planted here [at St. German's] in the Danish troubles, *broughte hyther from Bodman*;" or, as Norden writes still more explicitly in another place, "one Herstane, "about a° 906, was consecrated bushop" of Cornwall, "whose see was "at Bodmyn, and called St. Petrocks, whiche church, with the cloyster, "was consumed by the Danes, and *then* was the see removed to St. German's*." But Dr. Borlase subjoins to both, with an astonishing confusion of ideas, what tells us nothing besides the translation of the see from Bodmin to St. German's. "King Athelstan," he cries, "is *said* to have "appointed one Conan bishop here (A. D. 936). King Edred, brother "to Athelstan, who began his reign in 946, and died in 955 (Speed,

§ Camden, 139: "S. German's viculum, ad quem in Danico turbine sedes episcopales "timor transtulit." In 138 he speaks concerning Bodmin: "Clarius olim [fuit] dignitate "episcopali—; verum postea—episcopalis dignitas ad S. Germans fuit translata." Gibson, 21, translates "viculum" in the former passage, "a *little* village." Mr. Gough, i. 5, renders it equally "a *little* village." But both have thus shewn themselves inattentive to their author's language, he adding a word of diminution to the term when he means to contract the idea. Thus in 541 he calls Holyhead in Anglesey, "*tenuis* viculus." Yet Mr. Gough, ii. 566, translates this equally "a *little* village;" and Gibson, 812, renders it "a *small* village." Camden distinguishes, but they will not discriminate. Mr. Gough particularly appears here, what I believe he may be fairly pronounced in general, a translator of Camden—from Gibson; avoiding some gross mistakes in Gibson, but setting his feet carefully in Gibson's steps; yet he has once tripped dangerously, by not so setting; when what Gibson, p. iv. renders "*except* the olive, the vine, and some other fruits peculiar to the "hotter climates, Britain produceth all things else in great plenty," Mr. Gough translates in this astonishing manner, i. 11, "*besides* the olive and the vine, and other fruit-trees "natural to warmer climates, the soil produces corn in considerable quantities." Here almost every variation from Gibson is a deviation into error; but the first is so monstrously erroneous as to make his author speak *the very reverse* of what he means, even to plant Britain with "the olive, the vine, and some other fruits peculiar to the *hotter* climates."

* Speculi Britanniae pars 93 and 32, rightly supposed in account of the author prefixed, from the mention in Dedication to James I. of meeting Don Antonio in the West, to have been written in 1584.

“ Chron. p. 346), is also *said* to have *ordained St. German's to be a*
 “ *bishop's see*; but, as *all histories agree*, that the bishop of Cornwall *did*
 “ *not remove from Bodman* till the year 981, it is *very unlikely* that there
 “ should be a bishop *here* before that time, as bishop Tanner rightly ob-
 “ serves †; neither does it seem *necessary* that there should be two
 “ bishops in so narrow a slip of land as Cornwall, and but one at Crediton
 “ for all Devon, a country of so much larger extent. The following par-
 “ ticulars *may* serve in *some* measure to discover the truth. I find Edred
 “ a benefactor to the see of Bodman; for Henry III. confirmed to the
 “ monks there the manor of Newton, in the same manner as king Edred
 “ had granted it ‡. *Very likely* this was given in order to augment the
 “ revenues of the bishopric there; and, for the same reason, he *might*
 “ have appointed the bishop of Bodman to be bishop of St. German's too.
 “ Again: Conan is said to be the name of the first bishop, placed *here* by
 “ king Athelstan. I find also that Conan was *second* bishop in the see
 “ of Bodman, in the time of king Athelstan; it is *possible* therefore that
 “ Athelstan *might* annex *his new priory of St. German to the see of Bod-*
 “ *man*, for the better maintenance of the episcopal dignity, and [might
 “ have] ordered also *that St. German's should partake of the episcopal*
 “ *title*; by which disposition I *imagine* that Conan, *at that time bishop of*
 “ *Bodman*, became bishop of *Bodman and St. German's too*;—and this
 “ *might* give occasion to the mistakes of St. German's being one bishopric,

† Tanner's Notitia Monastica, Cornwall, St. German's: “ King Ethelstan is *said* to have
 “ made one Conan bishop here, A. D. 936; though *it seems more probable* that the epis-
 “ copal see for Cornwall was not fixed here till after the burning of the bishop's house and
 “ cathedral church at Bodmin.” We thus see the grand authority on which Dr. Borlase
 speaks.

‡ Tanner, Bodmin, though the Doctor has no reference, “ Mon. Angl.—tom. ii. p. 5.
 “ cart. 57. H. 3. m. 9. confirm. cartam Eadredi regis priori et canonicis de Bodmine, de
 “ manerio de Niwetone.” Thus all the Doctor's reasoning is either Tanner's own, or
 founded upon Tanner's notices.

A Jove principium; Musæ Jovis omnia plena.

But let me add, in order to prevent an immediate mistake in my reader, that Dr. Borlase
 proves “ Edrid a benefactor to the see of Bodman,” by adducing a donation from him “ to
 “ the monks there,” or (as the deed of donation more explicitly speaks itself) “ *priori et*
 “ *canonicis de Bodmine.*”

and

“and Bodman another; but *these things I offer only as conjectures**.” I shall not stop to expose this mass of conjectures, all pleading a false probability of reason against a positive assertion of history, all founded upon a false assumption, and all tending to a false conclusion. I shall only shew the reality, and leave these reveries to die away at its side.

“In the division of the West-Saxon bishopric,” as Malmesbury informs us, “this is observable, that he who had his see at Winchester possessed two counties, Hampshire and Surry; the other, who had his at Shireburn, possessed Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and *Cornwall*.—On the death of Ethelward,” bishop of Sherborn, “the West-Saxon episcopate ceased for seven years, under the compelling violence of hostility. But at last Pleymund, archbishop” of Canterbury, “and king Edward the son of Alfred, obliged by the threats and edicts of the Pope—, appointed five bishops instead of two, Ethelm to the church of Wells, Edulf to that of Crediton, Werstan to that of Shireburn, *Athelstan to that of Cornwall*, Fidestan to that of Winchester. Ethelm therefore had Somersetshire, Edulf Devonshire, *Athelstan Cornwall†*.” That Cornwall *then* formed, or was *then* to form, a bishopric of *itself*, is evident from this appointment of Athelstan to *it*, and of Edulf to *Devonshire*. This was so early as 910, because Fidestan, we know, “feng to biscopdome on Wintecestre,” or became bishop of Winchester in that year‡. But it must have

* Borlase, 382.

† Malmesbury, f. 140: “In divisione West-Saxonici episcopatus, hoc observatum palam est, ut qui Wintoniæ sederet, haberet duos pagos, Hamptonensem et Sudreiensem; alter qui Schireburniæ, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsetensem, Beruchensem, Somersetensem, Domnoniensem, Cornubiensem.” Malmesbury, 142: “Sighelmo successit Ethelwardus, quo mortuo cessavit episcopatus West-Saxonum annis septem, vi scilicet hostilitatis cogente. Postmodum verò Pleymundus archiepiscopus, et rex Edwardus, filius Elfredi, minis et edictis Formosi Papæ coacti, quinque episcopos pro duobus facere,—Athelmum ad Wellensem ecclesiam, Edulfum ad Cridiensem, Werstanum ad Schireburnensem, Athelstanum ad Cornubiensem, Fidestanum ad Wintoniensem. Habebat ergo Ethelmus Somersetam, Edulfus Domnoniam, Athelstanus Cornubiam.”

‡ Sax. Chron. This date in a work of such authority as the Chronicle, with the suppression of the name of Formosus, as then pope, who died in 896, removes at once all the

have been a part of one, many centuries before. As the Britons, on the Roman dereliction of the island, naturally lost the Roman divisions of provinces, and relapsed again into their only divisions by realms; so, every realm becoming a bishopric, Damnonium formed at once a kingdom and a prelacy. Thus does the episcopate of Damnonium mount up for its origin, even to the middle of the fifth century! This had its seat undoubtedly at Exeter, equally the capital of the realm and the metropolis of the bishopric; continuing to have it as long as the kingdom of the Damnonii continued entire. But when Damnonium, *east of the Exe*, was reduced by the Saxons, and Exeter itself was possessed only in part by the Cornish, under the permission too of the English; a new capital and a new metropolis must have been appointed, by the Damnonii *west of the Exe*. At what time this event happened, and Exeter lost its civil with its spiritual supremacy over Cornwall, we may ascertain by these successive incidents of history.

In 577, "Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brytons, and slew "three kings, Commail and Condidan and Farinmail, in the place that "is called Deorham," Durham near Marshfield in the south of Gloucestershire, and not far from Bath; "and took three chesters, Gleawancester," or Gloucester, "and Cyren-cester, and Bathan-cester," or Bath§. The Saxons thus entered upon the north of Somersetshire, in their way towards Devonshire. In 584, "Ceawlin and Cutha," the same as *Cuthwine* before, "fought with the Bryttons in the place that is "named *Fethanleag*; and *Cuthan* was there slain: and Ceawlin took "many towns, and spoils and treasures without number, and then returns "to his own again||." This was plainly, from the last stroke, not an invasion of conquest, like the former, but an incursion for plunder only:

difficulties which have been so powerfully raised against the common date of 905 for this fact, by the worthy, acute, and judicious Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, i. 554, 555. He inclines to 909; yet Wilkins, in *Concilia*, i. 201, 202, goes back to 905, without noticing the reasons of Wharton against it. Thus is knowledge kept by the leaden weights of negligence, in a continual state of oscillation.

§ Sax. Chron.

|| Sax. Chron.

and

and an incursion so far into the country of the Britons, that a retreat back from it into the English possessions was considered as an incident memorable enough for notice, even in so compendious a history. The scene of the battle, therefore, was not, as has been hitherto supposed, *Fretherne* on the Severn; but some place of the name of *Featley*, if the old appellation is still preserved, or of some name a little similar, if that is lost, and certainly *very far within the possessions of the Britons at the time*. For these reasons I suppose the bold incursion to have reached as far as *Chudleigh* in Devonshire, the latter half of this appellation being the same as the latter half of the other, and the place itself about nine miles to the *west* of Exeter; the Saxon king and his brother to have been *there* encountered by the Damnonii, and the brother slain; Ceaulin himself to have been very severely handled, yet to have made good his retreat with all his plunder; and the old name of *Fethan-leag*, or *Feat-ley*, to have been superseded among the Saxons afterward, in consequence of *Cutha's* or *Chuta's* death and burial there, by that of *Chud-leigh*†. So the castle in the Isle of Wight, which was taken from the Britons by Cerdic in 530, and given to his nephew *Wihtgar*, an appellation then, perhaps, the same as *Whitaker* now; is denominated by the Saxon Chronicle in the very year 530 itself, *Wihtgara-byrig*, Caresbrook castle at present, merely from the circumstance of *Wihtgar* being buried there in 544‡. But this incursion was followed by its natural consequence, an invasion. In 614, “*Cynegils*,” king of West-Saxony, “and *Cwichelm*” his son, “fought at *Bramdune*,” Bampton upon the river Batham, in the north of Devonshire, on the confines of Somersetshire, and along the very line of the Saxon progress from Bath towards Exeter; “and slew two thousand and forty-six of the *Weala*,” or Welsh of Cornwall§. They gained the battle; counted the slain of their enemies, and then, in all probability, reduced the whole country to the east of the Exe. We accordingly find the east of Devonshire so far under the power of the Saxons in 755, that one of their royal family,

† Malmesbury, f. 5, calls him expressly “*Cuda* ;” and Huntindon, f. 180, Savile, calls him “*Cutha*,” and “*Chuta*.”

‡ Sax. Chron.

§ Sax. Chron.

who had been slain at Merton in Surry, was brought to *Axminster* for interment*. We even find the inhabitants so thoroughly anglicized before the days of Athelstan, as to have forgotten all their British affections, and to have adopted all the Saxon. In 851, "Ceorl, alderman," or Saxon governor of East-Devon, "*with the shire of Defena*, fought "the heathen Danes at Wicgan-burch," or Wembury, near Plymouth, "made a great slaughter of them, and gained the victory†. But at an earlier period, in the year 833, we see them actually *invading the country of their Cornish brethren*, and actually *pushing into it as far as Camelford in Cornwall*. That year "the *Weala* fought, and the "*Defna*, at *Gaful-ford‡*."

In this condition of Devon and Cornwall, the former consisting only of the smaller half of Devonshire, yet assuming the title of the whole, and the latter comprising all the great remainder; the unsubdued *Damnonii* necessarily formed a new capital for their kingdom, and a new see for their bishopric. They appointed, I believe, *LESKARD* for their capital, and *SAINT GERMAN'S* for their see.

Leskard appears to have been so from its name; *Lys* or *Les* signifying in Cornish, a manor-house; in Armoric a royal house; and in Irish that best preserver of the old British, a fort. *Kuirt* or *Kuird*, also in Irish, the same word as *court* in English, and pronounced as *court* is in the North of England, *cart*, imports a palace. *Leskard* thus means what the Irish so recently had, the court at the castle. "There *was* a castel," says Leland, it having sunk away in its own antiquity, as early even as his days, "on an hille in the toun side by north from S. Martin," the parish-church. "It is now al in ruine. Fragments and peaces of "waulles yet stonde." But now the castle is clearly demolished; the church having been formerly rebuilt with its stones, I believe, a school having been more recently erected upon the ground with them; and no appearances remaining of its existence, except in a slight, crumbling fence of stone upon two sides, too slight and too crumbling ever to have been an original part of the whole. "The site of it is magnifi-

* Sax. Chron.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

" cent,

“cent, and looketh over al the toun. This castelle was the erles of
“Cornwall§.”

But why then was not the see settled with the court, at Leskard? On the same principle, assuredly, of a monastic sequestration from courts and crowds; upon which, when another see was added to that of Winchester, the metropolis of West-Saxony, it was settled at Sherborn*. Yet I can give a still stronger instance: in the same spirit David, bishop of Caerleon, during the sixth century, transferred the see of Menevia, a village situated at the peninsular extremity of Pembrokeshire, exposed therefore to all the rage of all the Atlantic; and lent it its present name of St. David's†. This devotee's humour actually became so

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 39.

* Malmesbury, f. 140: “Viculus, nec habitantium frequentia, nec positionis gratia, “suavis; in quo mirandum et penè pudendum, sedem episcopalem per tot durasse secula.” So solitary a place Malmesbury wonders to have been selected for the see of a bishop. The very solitariness was the leading principle in the selection. But there was an additional reason, that amid many sites of solitariness pointed out this. “John Myer, abbate of Sherburne, said,” as Leland tells us in Itin. iii. 127, “that he had redde in Latine bookes of “his house, that Sherburne was caullid *Clare Fons*.” But the abbot had not observed, that it was denominated *Fons Argenteus* in this passage of ancient biography, which has been equally unobserved by all our critics in antiquarianism, yet shews us Sherborne noticed in history for the first time, and suggests the special cause of its being raised into a see. “Ex “Vitâ Edmundi Martyris: ‘Edmundus et Edwoldus filii Alkmundi ex Sivarâ. Offa, rex “Est-Anglorum peregrè proficiscens, ad cognatum suum Alkmundum, in Saxoniâ [Wes- “sex called here Saxony, as opposed to Mercia] commorantem, pervenit, ibique Edmun- “dum ejus filium in heredem adoptavit.’ Ex Vitâ Edwoldi fratris Edmundi: ‘Edwol- “dus vitam heremiticam duxit apud Fontem Argenteum in Dorsetshir’.” (Itin. viii. 74.) Scip buyn in Saxon is the clear, bright water. The cell at it was assuredly, as the only one there, “St. John hermitage by the mille, now down.” (Itin. iii. 126.) This hermit drew some monks, probably, and then bishops, after him to the place.

† Usher, 44, 252, 253. Giraldus Cambrensis, in Itin. Cambriæ, ii. 1. Camdeni Norma- nica, &c. p. 855, speaks thus of the translation: “Prior ille locus—longè metropolitanæ “sedi plus congruerit; hic etenim angulus est supra Hibernicum mare remotissimus, terra “saxosa, sterilis, et infœcunda, nec silvis vestita, nec fluminibus distincta, nec pratis ornata, “ventis solùm et procellis semper exposita—; ex industriâ namque viri sancti talia sibi de- “legerunt habitacula, ut populares strepitus subterfugiendo, vitamque eremiticam longè pas- “torali preferendo,” &c.

frequently exercised, that after the Conquest a formal canon was made by a council in England, for counteracting the long-continued operations of it, and removing all the sees back from villages into cities†.

On this principle being separated from the royal seat, why was not the episcopal fixed at Bodmin? “At Bodmin,” intimates Malmesbury, “it was fixed;” and any intimation from him carries great weight with it. “The seat of the bishopric,” he tells us, “was at the town of St. Petroc the Confessor. The place is among the northern Britons, upon the sea, near a river which is denominated Hegelmithe,” or Heylmouth§. But here he has blundered egregiously in the form of his intimation, and that blunder takes off much from the authority of the whole. He points at *Bodmin* in *intention*, but indicates *Padstow* in *reality*; confounded by the double monastery of St. Petrock. He *therefore* pitches the episcopal residence “among the *northern Britons*” of Cornwall, and “upon the *sea*” there. But, by an additional blunder, he undesignedly pitches it at *St. Ives*, as “near a river which is denominated Hegelmithe,” or Heylmouth, Hayle being the very appellation of the river at St. Ives. Dr. Borlase, indeed, endeavours seemingly to salve the last of these blunders, by supposing the Heylmouth to mean the mouth of the Alan at Padstow; this river, as he boldly affirms, being “formerly called by the name of Hayle, or Heyle, a common name for any river*.” Yet the endeavour only shews the impositions that the mind often puts upon itself without knowing them. The Doctor saw the Alan meant, yet the Heylmouth mentioned; and, without attending to the accumulation of errors in Malmesbury here, boldly supposed, then more boldly averred, the Alan, which was actually called the Cambala or Camel formerly, to have been formerly denominated the Hayle or Heyle. With such an averment in the very face of fact, it is hardly worth while to notice a reasoning peculiarly absurd,

† Malmesbury, 142: “Sub quo cùm ex canonum, decreto edictum esset, ut sedes episcoporum ex villis ad urbes migrarent.”

§ Malmesbury, 146: “Quòd apud Sanctum Petrocum Confessorem fuerit episcopatus sedes. Locus est apud aquilonales Brittones supra mare, juxta flumen quod dicitur Hegelmithe.”

* Borlase, 379, 380.

which

which argues the Alan to have been called the Heyle, or Hayle, because this was “a common name for *any* river,” and therefore *could* not be the *proper* name of the Alan, or of any other. But a geographical blunder in Malmesbury, enhanced as it is by an absurdity of language, in speaking of “a river which is denominated Hegel-mithe,” or Heyl-mouth, is thus made by the Doctor the basis of an historical assertion. And the substance of what Malmesbury here says, is actually transmuted by the wizard’s wand of this antiquary, in a silent consciousness (I believe) of its numerous deformities, into something totally different from what it was made by its author; into an evidence of what is not believed even by the antiquary himself, into an indication of *Padstow* instead of *Bodmin*, and consequently into a settlement of the *see* at the *former*, not at the *latter*†.

Malmesbury, indeed, was seduced from all propriety of reasoning and of speaking, by that private history of Glastonbury abbey, which he appears to have adopted for a true narration, even of this early period. In it he found the saints Petrock and Patrick confounded together; St. Patrick landed upon the shore of Cornwall instead of St. Petrock; even landed, and having a church where he himself places the church of St. Petrock, at Hayle-mouth. In such a maze was Malmesbury’s understanding, at the moment of writing this sentence; and into such a labyrinth has he led Dr. Borlase‡!

Yet,

† Borlase, 379, 380: “The place where this house was situate, was called, anciently, Loderick; the house itself, Laffenac;—it stood on the north sea, at the mouth of a river, the place called then Heile-mouth, by Malmesbury, lib. ii. Hegelmith: the river was what we now call the Alan:—this church was called afterwards, by the Saxons, Padstow.”

‡ Usher, 455, 456: “Patricium nostrum monasticam Glastoniæ vitam coluisse, Malmesburiensis auctor est [in Galeo, i. 300]: de primo ejus ad locum illum accessu, ex Glastoniensium fide, ista referens: ‘Extremis diebus Britanniam remeans, priorem (metropolitani pallii, ut in magnâ Glastiniensi tabulâ additum hîc est) celsitudinem salutationesque in foro respuens, super altare suum Cornubiam appulit: quod usque hodie apud incolas [of what place in Cornwall?] magnæ venerationi est, tum propter sanctitudinem et utilitatem, tum propter infirmorum salutem. Inde Glastoniam veniens,’ &c. The story of this altar belongs, undoubtedly, to the saint of Padstow; Petrock and Patrick being the very same appellation, only varied by the broad or the thin pronunciation of the second

Yet, amidst all this confusion of history and geography in Malmesbury, he could not but listen to the voice of others, and could not but record their report. At the close he subjoins this remarkable observation, which serves to check the precipitancy of error in him, and ought to have checked the repetition of it in the Doctor; which balances the assertion before, that the see was at Bodmin; as it makes the scale now hang even between it and St. German's. For he thus cites the report of others, without any reprehension, though in direct contradiction to his own; "some say, that it [the see] was at SAINT GERMAN'S, near the river Liner, upon the sea in the south §."

letter. Dr. Borlase accordingly speaks of this altar expressly, as belonging to *his* Patrick, and *our* Petrock; averring in the text, that St. Patrick was "in Cornwall, and had an altar and church there dedicated to him, and much revered for the sake of this excellent pastor;" then subjoining in a note, that "the legend says he was wafted over from Ireland into Cornwall upon this altar, which was greatly frequented and revered for that reason." (P. 369.) "Sequentia hæc," adds Usher, "*ex jam dicto Glastiniensis ecclesiæ antiquitatum libello deprompta*, adjungas licet:—*cùm S. Patricius, à Celestino Papâ missus, Hibernicos ad fidem Christi convertisset, atque eos in fide solidâset,—Britanniam rediit, et in portum qui Haile-mont [Haile-mout] nuncupatur, appulit; ob cujus reverentiam sanctitatisq. excellentiam, ibidem statuitur ecclesia S. Patricii [Petroci] nomine, propter ejus merita et frequentia miracula, insignita'.*" Malmesbury, we see, was thus misled in history and in geography, by the confused notions of this Glastonbury historian; to confound St. Petrock with his predecessor St. Patrick, not indeed to call the church of the former what the Glastonbury historian calls it, St. Patrick's, but to speak of it by its own proper name of St. Petrock, yet with that historian to bring St. Patrick to it, and to land St. Patrick where he himself places the church of St. Petrock, at Haile-mouth. But Dr. Borlase receives all without distinction, only omitting in silence the strange reference to St. Ives. "The first religious house," he says, 379, 380, "which we read of [as] founded in Cornwall, was that erected by St. Patrick in the year 432. The place where this house was situate was called anciently Loderic; the house itself, Laffenac—. This church was called afterwards by the name of St. Patrick; and I should think the town was afterwards, in commemoration of *this* saint, called by the Saxons Padstow, or Patrick-stow," when Patrick-stow it never was called, though a note adds, "the Irish calling him *Padraick*," Usher, p. 895; when the vulgar abbreviation at present is *Paddy*, for an Irishman, as a disciple of Patrick: "others think it called Padstow from St. Petrock;" Dr. Borlase thus coming to the true account at last, and, like the glow-worm, carrying light in his tail to soften a little the darkness around him.

§ Malmesbury, 146: "Quidam dicunt fuisse ad Sanctum Germanum, juxta flumen Liner, supra mare in australi parte."

He even sets down this report in a previous part of his history, without the slightest reference to others, and with all the appearance of conviction impressed upon himself. The kings of West-Saxony, he there says, among other counties, ruled "in Domnonia, which is Deveneschire, and in Cornubia, which is now called Cornwall; and there were *then* two bishopricks, one at Crediton, the other at SAINT GERMAN'S; *now* there is one, and the seat of it is at Exeter*." The author thus shews us the original impression made upon his mind from the records of history; the obliteration made unwarily of it, by some false notices immediately before him then; and the return of his judgment at last, to what he had nearly lost in the crowd of notices which had pressed upon him since; a return as partial as his recollection, but carrying a plain tendency to his positive opinion at first. He set out on his historical journey, over an open country; saw the hill to which he was travelling, all drest out in full sunshine before him; but immediately entered a forest that intervened, lost his object in the woods around him, and, when he reached it at last, had a view not half so distinct as his former one, catching only a gleam from recollection of that vision, which had shone so bright to his eyes before.

Nor is this merely the solitary evidence of a single historian: others unite with him. All, indeed, combine their testimony with his, who are accurate enough to name the specific see of Cornwall. These all, however, are only two. But, as they are all who specify, so do two form a decisive addition of strength to the original witness. One of these is Rudborne, who wrote about 1440, when the see of Cornwall had ceased to exist for ages, at either St. German's or Bodmin. He tells us of many persons appointed to bishopricks by Pleimund, archbishop of Canterbury, and Edward the son of Alfred; but speaks of one of these bishopricks expressly, as "the Cornish see, or THE SEE OF SAINT GERMAN'S†. The other is a writer of the same date nearly, speaking of the same set of new

* Malmesbury, 18: "In Domnoniâ quæ Deveneschire, et in Cornubiâ quæ nunc Cornu Galliæ dicitur; erantq. tunc duo episcopatus, unus in Credinton, alter apud Sanctum Germanum: nunc est unus, et est sedes ejus Exoniæ."

† Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 210: "Ad Cornubiensem sive ad Sanctum Germanum."

prelates fixing four of their sees at Dorchester, Selsey, Winchester, and Sherborn, but then adding thus: "the king and bishop also erected three "collegiate churches into cathedrals, the first of which was the collegiate church of SAINT GERMAN in Cornwall, at which they placed a "fifth bishop†." So egregiously have the moderns been deceived, as to imitate and adopt an accidental wryness of neck in this Alexander of history, even to continue adopting and imitating, though he himself united with his courtiers to convince them, that it was merely accidental and temporary!

Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.

That the see, indeed, was *not* at *Bodmin*, may be shewn by authority even more decisive than either Rudborne's, Malmesbury's, or any historian's. From the reduction of East-Devonshire by the Saxons in 614, the Cornish must have had an episcopate as well as a royalty for themselves. We accordingly observe the former, noted above in 910; yet in all the interval between both, and down to the days of Athelstan in 936, Bodmin had *no existence* as a *town*, none even as a village, but was merely a *hermitage* through the whole period. Athelstan, say those best authorities that we can possibly have, the ancient charters of donations, founded a monastery at Bodmin, "in a valley where SAINT GURON," the patron-saint and the denominator of the parish of Gorran near Mevagissey, "was living solitarily in a small hut, which he left and "resigned to St. Petroc§." This appears, from its position in the *valley*, to have been upon the site of the present churchyard; and it is pleasing to contemplate in this glass of history, the area of a town once the ground of a hermitage. But we can be still more particular. What attracted St. Guron to the ground, in addition to the general woodiness

† Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 555: "Ulteriùs—rex et episcopus tres ecclesias collegiatas "—in cathedrales ecclesias erexerunt; quarum prima fuit ecclesia collegiata S. Germani in "Cornubiâ, in quâ quintum posuerunt episcopum."

§ Leland's *Coll.* i. 75: "In valle, ubi S. Guronus [fuit] solitariè degens in parvo "tugurio, quod relinquens tradidit S. Petroco." He went, probably, and settled in Gorran parish, which was therefore denominated from him; residing (I suppose) at Polgorran, or Gorran's Pool, a little north from the church. This church bears the name of St. Goran, in the Valor of Henry VIII. but is called "ecclesia Sancti Geroni" in that of Pope Nicholas.

and

and general solitariness of it, was that perpetual, that necessary accompaniment of a saint's hermitage in our island, a fine fountain of water. This remains to the present moment, at the western end of the churchyard, near the western door of the church; and so points out the immediate site of the hermitage, with the strictest precision. The spring is so copious, and the water is so good, that it is carried for a few feet under the ground of the churchyard, and discharged into a stone basin on the outside, to the amazement of all who consider not the careful conveyance of it through the churchyard, undisturbed by the digging of graves, unpolluted by the proximity of the dead, and protected at the fountain by an arched building of stone, with a door to it constantly locked; but to the sensible satisfaction of all the adjoining part of the town, which prefers the water of this spring to that of any other in the neighbourhood*.

This ran waste between the woods and the hills, till it engaged the notice and invited the residence of St. Guron, in the end of the fifth cen-

* Carew's Survey of Cornwall, 123, edit. 1769: "Their conduit water runneth thorow the churchyard, the ordinary place of buriall for towne and parishe. It breedeth, therefore, little cause of marvaile, that every generall infection is here first admitted and last excluded." Norden, 72, evidently from Carew's manuscript: "A small brooke" is at Bodmin, "runinge—thorowgh the churcheyarde, wher deade bodyes are interred; by reason wherof the water cannot be salutarie, and that, no dowbte, maketh the towne often subjecte to longe and greyvous infections." It is curious to observe in these two authors, how readily the human mind takes up an hypothesis from a superficial view of things, then *fancies* incidents confirmatory of it, and goes on to repeat the tale of falsehood with all the facts of experience crying out in a loud voice to overpower it. Bodmin is *known* to be as *healthy as any town in the county*. It has only *one apothecary's shop* within it; and a physieian of eminence there is reported to have exclaimed in a vein of jocularity against *the dreadful healthiness* of it; just as Dr. Arbuthnot is reported to have said of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, where he was once settled, and whence he was met galloping away, that it was a town at which a man could neither *live* nor *die*.—"At Frome, in Somersetshire," says Leland, vii. 99, in a strain wonderfully according with the circumstances of Bodmin, "there is a *goodly large* parochie churche in it, and a *ryght faire springe in the churche yarde*, that by *pipes and trenches is conveyde to divers partes of the towne*." See also Gostling's Canterbury, 375, 376, edition 2d, for conduits of water carried through the churchyard of the cathedral, to all the offices of the monastery, the kitchen, the bakehouse, and the brewhouse.

tury,

tury, or at the beginning of the sixth; as St. Petrock came into Cornwall in 518†. Such was Bodmin then‡.

Nor did it *now* change much in its condition. St. Petrock brought with him only three persons, his pupils in learning, his disciples in religiousness, and his intended companions in solitude. "With these he "settled," adds Leland, from other authority, "in a monastery of the "apostolic order, which he built in Cornwall *some miles from the Severn "shore§*;" the northern sea of Cornwall being then denominated, as it still is, the Severn sea. Thus the place of St. Petrock's settlement was *not*, as it has been hitherto fixed*, though very incongruously with all his scheme of sequestration, at *a port of passage* from Ireland, and in the *town* of Padstow. It was some miles within land, and at the solitary valley of St. Guron's hermitage. He turned the single hermitage into a social one, by rebuilding it on a larger scale, and then inhabited it with his three companions. He therefore settled, as St. Guron had settled before, on the western end of the present churchyard, and close to the fine fountain. "S. Petrocus," notes Leland, concerning the church of Bodmin, "was patrone of this, and *sumtyme dwellyd ther||*." There he lived and there he died; Leland again informing us, that "the shrine

† Usher, 526.

‡ Yet, "here," says he who has only the credulity of fancy without the irradiation of it (Hals, in his Parochial History of Cornwall, p. 17), "undoubtedly stood the *temple of "Apollo*, which, our annalists tell us," with equal ignorance and falsehood, "was built in "Cornwall by Cunedag, in the year of the world 3172—; this temple of Apollo was the "seat of the Cornish bishops, or *druids*, of the *druids before*, and of the bishops after "Christianity."

Et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historiâ.

§ Usher, 292: "Ibi, ut Lelandus rem narrat (Jo. Balæi Scriptor. Britann. centur. i. "c. 60), 'in cœnobio apostolici ordinis, quod in Cornubiâ aliquot passuum millibus à "Sabrino littore ædificabat, discipulos habuit Credanum, Medanum, et Dachanum'."

* Camden, 140: "Padstow contractè pro Petrockstow—, à Petroco quòdam Britannico "in sanctos relato, qui *hîc* Deo vacavit." Usher, 292: "Locus autem, in quo Petrocus "consedit,—hodie Padstow nominatur." Borlase, 380: "Others think it called Padstow "from St. Petrock, who settled—and *built here*."

|| Itin. ii. 114.

" and

“and TUMBE of S. Petrok YET STONDITH in thest part of the chirche§.” Nor let my Cornish reader think, as I thought before I examined the point, that this tomb and shrine of St. Petrock were placed in what Leland also calls “a cantuarie chapel at the east ende of” the church*. The chapel is actually what Mr. Hals mentions, as “in Bodmin church-yard,” at some distance from the church, and as “a well-built school-house built over a spacious charnel-house, or grot, where are piled up the dry bones of such men and women as are found in new-made graves, now commonly called the bone-house†;” and the school shews itself at the first glance to have been a chapel raised upon a lofty arcade, that is nearly buried now in the rising soil, but was originally a walk, then became a bone-house, and is now a privy; the chapel itself being ascended by a flight of stone steps, entered by an arched door of stone peaked, having two arched windows peaked on the north, with two on the south, and ending in a large arched window peaked on the east, with three stone stalls peaked near it, as seats for the three chantry-priests. But St. Petrock’s tomb and shrine were *within* the church, and in the *eastern part* of it. *There*, indeed, William of Worcester found a chapel before the days of Leland, then called St. Mary’s, as the whole church was then dedicated to St. Mary equally with St. Petrock; and, as William tells us, “St. Petrock *lies in a fair shrine* within a chapel of St. Mary,” that has no *length* noted like the church, *from east to west*, but “is in *breadth*,” from north to south, “about twenty-four steps‡”.

There

§ Itin. ii. 114, and ix. xxxii.: “Locus—illustris, cùm monumento Petroci, tum,” &c.

* Itin. ii. 114. Notwithstanding this notice in Leland, Tanner has totally omitted that chapel, even in Nasmith’s edition. He has also omitted St. Petrock’s chapel, notwithstanding Leland’s equal notice.

† Hals, 20.

‡ Itineraria Simonis Symeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre, Nasmith, Cambridge, 1777, p. 100, 101: “Latitudo capellæ Beatæ Mariæ continet circa 24 steppys.—Sanctus Petrocus—jacet in pulchro scrinio apud Bodman ecclesiam, coram capellâ Beatæ Mariæ.” This author, whom I now cite for the first time, is no very respectable writer; but he has many notices of use, and travelled near a century before Leland; as he says, p. 368, “1473, die 10 Augusti, presentavi W. episcopo Wyntoniensi, apud Asher, librum Tullii de Senecute, per me translatum in Anglicis, sed nullum regardum recepi de episcopo.” Happily

There also was a chapel existing to the year 1776, entered by a door on the south side of the altar, and ranging parallel with the altar behind, only about three feet wide and nine long; covered with a *salt-pie* roof of shingles that sloped to the altar window, and had there a gutter of lead for conveying rain-water from it. *There are* the ends, with the side still remaining without, as well as the doorway apparently closed up, in that sort of sunken opening to a cellar window, which the Londoners, with a barbarism peculiar to themselves, denominate an *area*; the earth on the outside having swelled up, from burials, to such a height here, as to be level nearly with the pitch of the ancient roof, and to have reduced a chapel into a mere fosse. We thus perceive, that when the present church was erected, about the year 1125, in all the loftiness and grace which now fix it by far the finest church in the county†; so much of the old chapel of St. Petrock, as contained his tomb and shrine, was left out of reverence to his memory, and his tomb with his shrine was carefully preserved in it to the Reformation, even *through* the Reformation to the time of Leland. But what had been spared by the wasteful hand of mischief in the *first* reformation, has been since destroyed by the spades and pickaxes of the *second*; those fanatics of the seventeenth century, I suppose, who defaced a little the tomb of bishop Vivian there, as a monument of superstition; utterly levelling the tomb of St. Petrock to the ground, tearing down his shrine with its statue from their position over the altar-tomb, and not leaving a trace of any to be seen now*. Thus was the chapel latterly considered only, as a vestry

for the present generation of clergy, this is not the case now; but every ray of literary merit that darts out among them, is marked by the watching eyes of our prelates, is caught carefully in their ready mirror of patronage, and reflected back with additional lustre, upon the public.

† Leland's Itin. ii. 114: "The paroch chirche standith at the est ende of the town, and is "a fair large thyng." Leland's Coll. i. 76: "25 regis Henrici i^{mi} [A. D. 1125] quidam "Algarus, cum conniventia episcopi Exon. Gul. Warwest, obtinuit licentiam à rege," &c. Hals, 19: "Algar—, at his own proper cost and charges, re-edified the—church—at Bodman, "as it now stands, consisting of three roofs, each sixty cloth-yards long, thirty broad, and "twenty high; so that, for bulk and magnificence, it is equal to the cathedral of Kirton, "and little inferior to that of Exon."

* This tomb, says Hals, 20, was "somewhat defaced in the interregnum of Cromwell,

try, perhaps, for the clergy once, was in fact used as a kind of lumber-room to the church; and all knowledge of its dedication to St. Petrock, of its ever having a shrine or a tomb within it, was thoroughly effaced from the minds or memories of the inhabitants, till I came in the autumn of 1795 to search for the chapel, and by searching taught the inhabitants to discover it for me. But the building, from its own antiquity, from the mass of soil which had been accumulated around it, and from the lowness, the meanness of its roof, had previously appeared so rude to the eye, that its original dedication being now forgotten, and its original memorials now removed, reverence had no longer a power to save it: ignorance, in the shape of an official, ordered it to be unroofed, and all tradition of its existence would soon have vanished into air. Yet it is noticed in another place by Leland, as “a carnarye chappell in the chyrch†.” What, however, is a “carnary” chapel? We are ready to suppose at once, that it is a chapel dedicated to some purposes of devotion, which are now forgotten in the mutation of our minds, and in the variation of our devotions, since the Reformation. So apt are we to rest our idleness on our ignorance, and to suppose a point inexplicable because we will not seek for explications! Leland speaks in a third place of “a charnel chapelle;” which was not a mere charnel-house, as in the same spirit we may fondly presume it to be, because it is expressly noticed by Leland immediately afterwards, to be one “to the which was gyven the profite of a chapelle at Bayworth‡.” A carnary, or charnel

“as a superstitious monument.” It is defaced, in the cherubims that overshadowed his face with their wings, being so broken off as to leave only a part of their wings behind them; in the fingers being destroyed, that belonged to the hands closed in the act of prayer; and in a part of the inscription round the rim. But, what has never been noticed, this tomb has been removed from its original site. “Ther lay buried,” says Leland, in Itin. iii. 12, “before the high altare,” now in the northern aisle, “in a high tumber of a very darkesch gray marble, one Thomas Viviane prior,” &c. We have just such a removal at Wells, in Leland’s Itin. iii. 124: “Ad Boream Radulphus de Salapiâ episcopus Wellen. Hic antea tumultatus fuit ante supremum altare, sed tumulus obfuit celebrantibus ministris.”

† Itin. iii. 12.

‡ Ibid. ibid. So in iii. 58, we find upon a tomb in Exeter cathedral, “fecit capellam carnariæ in cœmiterio.” In iii. 99, we have “a fair chapelle” at Winchester; “under it is a vault for a carnarie,” or charnel-house; as “there be 3 tumberes of marble, of

charnel chapel, therefore, was one that had a priest with an endowment belonging to it, and was *the repository of a saint's bones*. Thus the "carnarye chappell in the chyrch" of Bodmin, was that very chapel which I have just described, within which was the *tomb* of St. Petrock, and to which, therefore, the title of a chapel *carnary*, or *charnel*, was familiarly given before the Reformation, as a note of distinction from, and a mark of eminence above, the common herd of chantry chapels§.

"prestes custodes of this chapelle." So, likewise, in the same page, we have "a chapelle with a carnary," or charnel-house under it. In iv. 124, we have "a charnel chapell;" and in Stowe's London, 356, we have "a charnell under the chapell," built about 1282.

§ The name of *Vivian*, for this prior of Bodmin, seems to concur with the name of Bodmin itself, in fixing him for an original native of that county, in which the family of the Vivians is so numerous and so respectable at present. The appellation is accordingly considered by the linguists of Cornwall, to be purely Cornish in itself. "*Vyvyan*," says Borlase, "*little water*; the name of a family" (p. 462). "*Chuyvyan*," adds Pryce, with more harshness in the derivation, "*to scape, to flee*: from hence the family *Vyvyan* is supposed to take its name, for fleeing on a white horse from Lioness, when it was overflown; that person being at that time governor thereof; in memory whereof this family gives a lion for its arms, and a white horse, ready caparisoned, for its crest." These etymologies seem to demonstrate the *Cornish* quality of the name, beyond a possibility of doubt. The former appears peculiarly easy and just, while the latter is supported by an appeal to the tradition, and a reference to the arms, of the very family. Yet, after all, the name of *Vivian* is not Cornish. It is only one of the appellations, begun among us originally by the resident Romans, and continued among us afterwards by their descendants in Britain. The Abbé *Viviani*, a dignitary at St. Peter's in Rome, was seized in 1796 as one of a body of republicans, combined to make an insurrection there. In 1177, we find "*Vivianus*, cardinalis tituli S. Stephani, et apostolicæ sedis legatus;" at Whiterne, in Galloway, in the Isle of Man, and in Ireland. (Leland's Coll. iii. 320.) We even find a *Vivian*, a respectable man and a knowing lawyer, at Rome, in the fifth century: "Datâ siquidem supplicatione conquereris," says Theodorick the king to John the head physician, in a letter, "*virum spectabilem Vivianum, legum artificio quo callet elatum, personam tuam objectis criminibus insequentum, et eousque perventum ut indefensus, contra juris ordinem, vicarii urbis Romæ, sententiâ damnareris.*" (Cassiodori Chronicon, iv. 41.) But let me ascend to the very meridian of Roman greatness, for the name; by observing, that it appears as a *prænomen* even in Tacitus, and that he notices "*Vivianus Annius*" as the "gener Corbulonis," in the very reign of Nero (Ann. xv. 28). I thus restore the Vivians of Cornwall to their true dignity of descent, a descent from the Roman conquerors of Britain, and a dignity not communicable, I believe, to any other family in the whole island, at present.

But,

But, as Leland subjoins from the charters again, “ St. Petroc professed “ a monastic life under the rule of St. Benedict, at *Bodmin*, as then “ called*.” The valley *then* took a name, and the cell of the hermit monks lent its own appellation to it, *Bod-min*; or, as this name was at the time pronounced, like *Ladock* changed into *Lazock*, and *Bryttonec* into *Brezonec*, at present; and, as the name is found actually written in the charters, *Bos-mana*, the mansion of the monks†. The ground, however, was still solitary, and had in it a mere hermitage; *that* selected for its sequestration from the world, amid the woods which hung down from the hills on either side, and threw their shade of solemnity across the valley; but *this* barely a monastic hermitage, in the bosom of these embowering woods. In the same condition it remained to the reduction of Cornwall. The “ rule” of St. Benedict, adds Leland from the very charter still, “ so dedicated to monastic discipline,” and for that reason (I suppose) denominated the apostolic order before, “ the monks *there* “ pursued *even to the time of Athelstan*‡.” The king then pulled down the cell of these four hermits, and erected a regular monastery; shifting the site a little, fixing his monastery just without the south-eastern end of what is now the churchyard, and leaving the scene of St. Petroc’s hermitage, with the ground of his well, for the ample area of that church of his, which he made equally monastic and parochial§. There the

* Coll. i. 75: “ S. Petrocus monasticam professus vitam sub regulâ D. Benedicti, apud “ Bodminam tunc temporis vocatam.”

† Coll. i. 75: “ Bosmana, id est, mansio monachorum.” The full name is *Bos-ma-nach*, which is the same in Armoric and Irish, but would be *Bod-mynach* in Welsh; and appears from *Bos-mana* and *Bod-min* in the charters to have been equally so in the Cornish then, and to have been then pronounced *min* and *mana*. “ Z was never used in the “ Welsh, but occurs frequently in the Cornish for *dh*; as *Exewon*, Jews, for *Edhewon*, and “ *zen enevon*, for *dhon anevon*, to our souls.” (Pryce, 15.)

‡ Coll. i. 75: “ Quam regulam usque ad tempus Athelstani, monasticæ dicatam disciplinæ, monachi ibidem tenuerunt.”

§ “ This church—,” notes Mr. Hals, 20, “ after dissolution of the priory—, was converted to a parochial church for the town and parish of Bodman.” Yet it was, as I have here named it, *parochial* from the very beginning. So Leland tells us concerning it in his time, that “ the *paroch church* standith at the est end of the town,” and that “ the late priory “ stode at the est ende of the *paroch church* yard of Bodmyne.” It was even as *parochial*,

the house continued, to the Reformation. "The *late* priory of blake "canons," cries Leland concerning what was already *alienated* in his time, "stood at the est ende;" or "at the est south est" end, as he speaks more precisely in another place, "of the—chirch yard of Bod—"myne*." But it has lent its appellation of *priory* to the ground, even now when all traces of the priory-house exist only in two pillars of moorstone, one tall and large, with a carved capital, but the other low and slight, with a capital all plain; in the remembered position of the priory chapel, on the northern side of the house; and in the abundant discovery of bones lately by sinking a cellar near it†. This king was therefore considered in the charters, and is called expressly by them, "the "first founder Æthelstan‡." The social hermitage was considered only as the single was, as a mere hermitage in itself, only admitting four persons instead of one, and only under a settled rule of conduct for all. Athelstan's construction thus ranked in time, for the very commencement of the monastery. I have also noted before, that the *town* of Bodmin, in Leland's time, retained a grateful memory of Athelstan's kindness to it; a village soon rising in the vicinity of the royal monastery, and the village extending afterwards into a town. This "*toune* of "Bodmyn," as I have previously shewn Leland to tell us in his Itinerary, "takith king Edelstane for the chief *erector* and gyver of privileges "onto it." Bodmin then *could not possibly be*, what it has been inva-

converted from a rectorial to a vicarial church, before the Valor of Pope Nicholas was made in 1292. Mr. Hals himself, however contradictorily, allows it was. "This prioral *rectory* "church," he tells us almost immediately after he had said the other, "*long before* its dissolution, was converted by the prior into a vicarage church; for, in the inquisition of the "bishops of Lincoln and Winchester,—*Eccles. de Bodman*—was taxed—vi L. xiii S. iiii D. "*Vicar ejusdem nihil, propter paupertatem.*" So completely and so speedily does Mr. Hals refute himself, yet remains seemingly all unconscious of what he is doing at the moment! But the words of the Valor are not cited fairly, though the unfairness affects not my argument. They are really these: "Eccl. de Bodmyina, vi. li. xiii S. iiii D. *Vicar "ejusdem, xl S.*"

* Itin. ii. 114, and iii. 12.

† Hals, 20: "The priory-house—is yet extant, though his [the prior's] domestic chapel and burying-place be delapidated and demolished." The whole has been recently rebuilt; one single arch remained to 1794.

‡ Coll. i. 75: "Primus fundator Æthelstanus."

riably supposed to the present moment, the primary seat of our Cornish episcopate, and the sole seat till 981. In 614, when a new seat was formed equally for the episcopate and for the royalty, Bodmin was only a hermitage. Bodmin continued a hermitage only to the year 936; and no episcopate *could possibly be fixed* at it, even so late as this very year§."

SECTION

§ A strange idea runs through all the writers, that St. Petrock died and was buried at *Padstow*; the natural consequence of the error, in supposing him to have settled *there*. Thus Usher, 292: "Postquam *hic* [at *Padstow*] cum sociis suis *per triginta annos* esset "commoratus," &c. Dr. Borlase, therefore, of necessity bows before the *tripos*, and receives implicitly the oracular *dictum*. At "*Padstow*," he tells us in 380, "St. Petrock "settled—, and built *here*; and, after thirty years—, died and was buried *here*, A. D. 564." Or, as the Doctor writes more circumstantially in 372 before, "he settled in a *monastery* "called before his time *Loderic* and *Laffenek*," when in 379, he says, "the *place* where this "house was situate was called, anciently, *Loderic*, the *house* *Laffenac*;" so contradictory can he be in so short a compass! "but from his name (as some think) *Petrocstow*, now *Padstow*;— "and having resided *there* for *thirty* years, died about the year 564, was buried," &c. Yet, all the while, the authority of history, and the evidence of remains, stand in triumphant array against them. I have already produced that authority and this evidence, in the text. But Usher kindly furnishes us with additional authority, against himself and his humble adherent the Doctor. "In editis historiarum floribus," says Usher, 293, concerning M. Westm. 353, "sedes illa episcopalis fuisse dicitur 'apud S. Patrocum de Bodwini'," where the mode of writing the personal name is just as I suppose it to have been originally, *Patroc-stow*, *Padstow*; "vel, ut locus est legendus, *apud S. Petrocum de Bodmini*. *Bodmaniae* enim vel "*Bodminiae* in *Cornubiâ* *conditum* fuit olim corpus *S. Petroci*: quod, inde furto ablatum, "ad *S. Mevenii* [*S. Mein*] in *Armorica* *Britanniâ* *monasterium* translatum, et *Henrici II.* "*Anglorum* regis mandato restitutum fuisse, in anni *MCLXXVII.* *historiâ* *Rogerus Hovede-* "*nus ita narrat*," &c. Dr. Borlase saw this opposed evidence, and therefore says, 372, "St. "*Petroc* was buried *first* at *Padstow*, and *afterwards* translated to *Bodman* priory, dedi- "*cated* to him;" and adds, 380, "the monastery of *Padstow* being near the sea shore, and "*exposed* to the piracies of the *Saxons*, and after them of the *Danes*, the monks removed to "*Bodman*, and, bringing the body of *Petrock* with them, the church there was dedicated to "*that saint*, who passed *some part* of his retirement in this place." All these incidents are absolutely false, in their very substance; except only one, the retirement of St. Petrock to the site of Bodmin, which is yet false in its statement of *some part*, and directly contradicted by the assertion from the Doctor before, of his spending *thirty* years at *Padstow*, and *there* dying. But, as this allowance of *some part* was made to meet these historical accounts a little, which affirm him to have lived entirely at Bodmin; so all the others are actually fabricated by Dr. Borlase himself, to cover the violent disruption of the history made by a vein of untruth, and to unite the two extremities together.

In

SECTION IV.

HAVING divested Bodmin of its pretensions, let us turn to its only rival St. German's. This appears to have been an actual see at the very time that the social hermitage of Bodmin was beginning to expand into a just monastery. "St. German's," notes Leland, "was *in the time of Ethelstan an episcopal see*.*" But his authority for this assertion was one, which is decisive in itself, as it is taken from the very charter of donations made by Athelstan. This king, the charter tells us, "*erected* 'in the church of St. German ONE CONAN BISHOP, in the year of our Lord 936, on the *fifth of December*†." St. German's, therefore, was actually a see when Bodmin was none; when Bodmin had no existence as a town, or even as a village; when it had only just risen out of its humble nest of a hermitage, and just put forth its pinions to mount into a monastery. St. German's, consequently, was the original see of Cornwall, founded about the year 614, when Leskard became the residence of Cornish royalty; the king and the bishop retiring equally, to a distance from the Saxons on the Exe; and remaining equally at this distance, to the very reduction of Cornwall. Then the episcopate was still continued at St. German's, and the royalty at Leskard; as Howel still remained sovereign, and Conan was now made prelate. Conan was so made assuredly, in supersedence of the existing bishop; Athelstan exerting his right of conquest, in the act of supersedence.

Nor was the civil sovereignty permitted to exist, I believe, beyond the single life of Howel. Dr. Borlase, indeed, remarks, that "when Eadgar was taking pleasure on the river Dee, in the year 973, and, sitting

In Gibson, 23, is a reference to Leland concerning Bodmin church, by mistake placed to Padstow. This error is corrected by Mr. Gough, i. 19. But he has adopted all the errors of Dr. Borlase, in full tale and weight.

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?

* Coll. i. 75: "Fuit tempore Ethelstani sedes episcopalis."

† Coll. i. 75: "Ex chartâ donationum Æthelstani. 'Erexit in ecclesiâ S. Germani quendam Conanum episcopum, anno Dⁱ 936, nonis Decembris'."

" in

“ in the stern of his boat, was rowed along by eight *kings*, who were “ subjects to him, Cressy (p. 878) says, upon what authority he does “ not mention, that Duffnal, one of those *kings*, was *king* of West- “ Wales.—*Very likely*, this [king] might be Eadulphus,” though Cressy calls him expressly, Duffnal, and the Doctor has himself recorded Eadulphus as *earl* immediately before†. In this passage I know not which to admire most, the confusion of ideas which makes an earl a king, and a king an earl, Eadulphus Duffnal, and Duffnal Eadulphus; or the credulous reliance on such an authority as Cressy’s, for such a national fact; or, the absolute falsity of the whole, as referring to Cornwall. But I can compose these dashing waves at once, by the diffusion of a little oil over them§. One of our original historians shews the account to be absolutely false, specifying the kings and their realms thus circumstantially: “ Kined, king of the Scots; Malcolm, of the Cumbrians; “ Maco, king of Man, and of very many isles; *Dufnal, king of Dyvod*,” or *South Wales*; “ Siferth and Howel, kings of [North] Wales; James, “ king of Galloway; and Jukil, of Westmoreland*.” The very passage adduced

† Borlase, 410, 411.

§ This principle in physics, so much the boasted discovery of Dr. Franklin, and so highly reprobated before as one of the incredible mysteries of Pliny, was familiarly known to the Highlanders of the Western Isles, near a century ago. “ The steward of Kilda who lives in “ Pabbay,” as Martin tells us, p. 48, edit. 2d, “ is *accustomed in time of a storm*, to tie a “ bundle of puddings made of the fat of sea-fowl, to the end of his cable; and lets it fall “ into the sea, behind the rudder: *this*, he says, *hinders the waves from breaking*, and *calms* “ *the sea*.” Thus does that first of hypocrites in political life, as Franklin is represented by those who best knew him to have always been, appear to have been an hypocrite even in his literary pursuits, and to have stolen his *first* hints in the present case, from a publication as popular as it is amusing.

* M. Westm. 375: “ Keñedo scilicet rege Scotorum, Malcolmo Cumborum, Macone “ rege Monæ et plurimarum insularum, Dufnal rege Demetiæ, Sifertho et Howel regibus “ Walliæ, Jacobo rege Galwalliæ, et Jukil Westmariæ.” What corroborates this evidence in two names, is a deed of Edgar’s in Monasticon, i. 16, 17; to which the subscribers are, “ Kinadius rex Albanæ,” and “ Mascusius archipieata.” Cressy says thus: “ Duffnall “ (king of West-Wales), Siferth (king of South-Wales), Howal (king of North-Wales), “ Inchil (king of Westmoreland), and James (king of Galloway).” It is very observable, that Cressy *begins* with citing M. Westm. for “ king Edgar, surnamed the Peaceable,” so translating the words “ rex Eadgarus Pacificus;” then *turns off* from the explicit passage here

adduced by Dr. Borlase for the continuance of kings in Cornwall, when it is stated in its legitimate form, and with its genuine signification, not only does not prove his point, but proves the direct contrary to it. The non-appearance of a king of Cornwall, or *West Wales*, among those subject kings of Edgar's, who take in the whole compass of the island; proves no king to have existed in Cornwall at the time, any more than in each of the six kingdoms of the heptarchy, and all these kingdoms to have been governed at the time by earls or dukes. Thus did the royalty terminate with Howel, in Cornwall! The palace of Leskard was then seized, by the Saxon king, I apprehend; and the kings of Cornwall, now reduced into earls, yet still retaining the language of royalty, were forced to settle upon the new ground of LESTWITHIEL; *that* having nearly all vanished in the body of it, 250 years ago, having vanished in all of it now, and *this* having its exterior walls standing loftily erect at present. This, I am informed, is actually denominated *the palace* in the records of the town. The very ground, too, on which it must have been originally placed, that on the western bank of the brook dividing the primary part of Lestwithiel from the parish of Lanlivery, that on which stands a large part of the present, a secondary sort of town, and the mere production of the palace itself; is entitled to this day from it, as lying on the declining foot of a hill, *Pen-kenek*, or *Pen-knek*, the hill of the king†. And the name of Lestwithiel itself

here cited from Matthew, and there standing only a few lines above, to lose himself in the vague accounts of Florence and Hoveden. He thus seems to play at *blindman's buff* with himself; these two historians specifying the five last of the royal rowers thus: "Dufnallus, Siferthus, Huwallus, Jacobus, Inchillus" (Florence, 359); "Dufnal, Sifrethus, Huwallus, Jacobus, Inchillus" (Hoveden, 245). *Jukil* is the name, assuredly, so illustrated by the virtues of that honest whig, Sir Joseph *Jekyll*.

† "Penknek by Lestwithiel;—Penknek is yn Lanleversey paroch." (Leland's Itin. iii. 35) So we have an entrenchment near Bodmin, denominated Castle Kynock; Kynog (Welsh) signifying a sovereign, and being abbreviated in Irish into Cing, or King, our English name for a monarch; as Kynech, by another kind of abbreviation, is here contracted into Knek. Hence we see it actually called Pen-kenek, in a charter from Richard earl of Cornwall: "Penkenek, nunc pars burgi de Lostwithiel, discernitur rivulo ab alterâ parte burgi." Ex chartâ Richardi comitis Cornubiæ de libertatibus de Lostwithiel et Penkenek." (Leland's Itin. iii. 196.)

points

points out the very founder of the house upon the hill-foot, as it signifies Withiel's palace†. But the position of this at the foot of a hill, along the margin of a brook, sallying down the hill, and close to what was a previous town§, shews it to have been built when wars were ceased, when the country was reduced by the long-threatening reducers of all the Britons to the east, and when a castle was no longer necessary for a palace. Yet with the remains of the ancient ideas, and with a partial attachment to the former modes of royalty, even this palace was built assuredly, as it certainly remained to the fifteenth century, in the form and with the appellation of a tower or castle*. With the same ideas,

† *Lestwithiel*, or (as Leland writes the name, Itin. vii. 121), *Loswithiel*, or (as he also writes it in the same page) *Lost Whithiel*, nearly as it is popularly pronounced at present; is *Lys* or *Les*, a palace: as "Les-guenllean" is "Palatium Vendolenæ," in Leland's Itin. v. 59, with that intermediate *d* or *t*, which is occasionally omitted in, or occasionally thrust into Cornish words, and *Withiel*, a name still remaining as a parochial one in Cornwall. The parish is marked in its church thus by the first Valor, "ecclesia de Withiel;" and in the second thus: "Withioll, *alias* Withiel." But the name is a personal one in Ireland, as I shall shew in v. i. at the end. It is even borne by some of the Cornish, at this day. But of the *t* or *d* intruding into the body of a word, we have a striking instance in the name of a Cornish promontory, within the parish of Gerens, on the southern coast, *Pedn Vadr*, when the real name is *Pen Van*, or little headland: so likewise we have *Peden-mean-due* Point close to the Land's End, on the north; *Tol-Penwith* more distantly on the south, and *Pedn Boar* Point, east of the Lizard. In Pryce, 17, also, we have, with another view, "Luys, grey, now *Ludzh*; Guoys, blood, *Gûdzh*; Krery, to believe, *Kridzhi*; An Drenses, "the Trinity, An *Drendzhez*; Bohosak, poor, *Bohodzhak*; De Bisy, to pray, *Dhe* "Pidzhi." But, as he adds afterward with a direct view to this, "*D* is inserted—often before a middle *n*, and more rarely before *r*; as *Dadno*, under him, where formerly *Dano*; "and *Dhe Medra*, for *Da Mira*, to behold." The instances in the former set shew the interposition to be equally before an *s* or a *z*; and *Lest-withiel* shews it to be equally *after* them.—The present ruins of the palace are principally a part, which was latterly fitted up for a shire-hall, but fitted up before the days of Leland. "By the shyere hawl," says Leland concerning this very palace, "appere ruines of auncyent buyldinges." (Itin. vii. 121.) Yet even that part became so ruinous at last from age, that a new shire-hall was forced to be built on the ground adjoining to it. And now the whole appears a mass of walls, more or less antique in their appearance, more or less erect in their stature, but watered by that lively brook which once scoured the offices of the palace, and still parts the parish of *Lestwithiel* from the parish of *Lanlivery*.

§ The real *Voluba* of Ptolemy's Geography and Richard's xvith Iter.

* It is thus noticed by William of Worcester; "Turris *Ble-kennok*," a name miswritten for

ideas, and in the same modes, a palace castellated equally in site as in form, was raised within the immediate vicinity; and RESTORMEL became the companion of Lestwithiel, the equal seat of contracted royalty. In that dialect of our primæval language, in which (let me observe again) the British is most faithfully preserved at this day, *Restormel* would be *Ris Tor Meal*, and import the *King's Tower Hill*. This was the summer-residence of the earls of Cornwall, I suppose, and Lestwithiel palace the winter; just as we see John of Gaunt, at a later period, inhabiting the castle upon the summit of the hill at Lincoln, but inhabiting equally "a winter palace that he built in the lower part of the town, of which there are still some remains; remains, that shew he was well acquainted with a style of building far different from that of the ancient keep on the hill†." This practice of having a winter and a summer residence, the natural suggestion of feeling in a climate

for *Pen-kennok*, "*ab antiquo prope Lastydyall, nuper Hugonis Curteney.*" (P. 96.) It is also called a castle like Restormel, in p. 164; "*Castrum Restormalle prope villam prope [superfluous] Lascudielle, Castrum Alascudielle, in Cornubiâ; ambo,*" &c. William even tells us, "*per relacionem Benedicti Bernard Armigeri,*" when the present structures at both were built; "*ambo fundantur per Ricardum regem Alemanniæ, fratrem regis Henrici Tertii.*" Edmund his son succeeding him in the earldom, A. D. 1272 (Collect. ii. 459), was the last earl who inhabited either of them; as William remarks, p. 96, thus: "*Castrum Restormalle stat prope Lascudielle, in parco principis, quondam Edmundi comitis Cornubiæ, ubi manebat.*" Dr. Borlase, therefore, is so far happy in his conjectures, p. 357, that Richard actually built at Restormel, and that Edmund was actually the last earl residing in it. Only, Richard did not make the "additions," because he made the original; and equally at Lestwithiel, as at Restormel; and Edmund was the earl who added the "chapel," the "gateway," and the "large windows in the rampart-wall," to the original castle of his father. Yet the two twin palaces did not continue to the last, sharing with each other in their fortune of sorrow or of joy. Lestwithiel palace, from its low, snug situation, at the side of a town, and on the margin of a brook, continued to be inhabited long after the palace on the bleak, dry prominence of a hill had been deserted; the last inhabitant of this being Edmund, who died two centuries nearly before William's visit into Cornwall "but Hugh Curteney" having then been "lately" an inhabitant of that, who succeeded his father as earl of Devonshire, in 1419, lived before, in all probability, as "Hugh Curteney" merely, at Lestwithiel, and died in 1422. (Collins's Peerage, vi. 462, 463, edit. 4th.) In Carew's Rate, i. 91, we have "*Manerium de pen-Kneth,*" for *Pen-knek*, "*et Restormel,*" the two houses composing one manor.

† Arch. vi. 264.

like ours, was begun within this island by the Romans, in their summer camps, and so was regularly continued by the Britons even in the warmest region of the whole, the region which so happily inhales the soft breezes of the west, and is thus protected from all those violent rigours of frost that oppress the rest of Britain. On this Roman principle, were these two contiguous palaces of Cornwall erected by the *British* earls, as is evident at once from the *British* appellations of them both†.

To shew with what fondness the kings of Cornwall, even in their confessed reduction into earls or dukes, and their removed residence to Lestwithiel, kept up a soothing memory of their royalty, which they once possessed; we need only adduce a pompous kind of pageantry, exhibited yearly there through so many ages, and under so many discouragements, till it reached the times of observation, and was recorded by the pen of antiquarianism. "There was of late years," says an antiquary, "a custom observed in this towne among the earle's free-holders of the towne *and manner*, yearly upon Little Easter-Sunday " (as they call it), with *verie royall solemnitie*. Upon which day the te-

† Restormel castle is well described by Dr. Borlase in 356-358; but he has been strangely inattentive to all the original history of it. Even the recent is equally overlooked. "There is a castel," says Leland, in Itin. iii. 35, "on an hil in this park of Restormel," a park now turned into fields, "wher sumtymes the erles of Cornewal lay.—A chapel of the *Trinite* in the park, not far from the castelle." It was at the foot of the hill, and for the use of those retainers of the castle, who formed a kind of village in the base court of it. The extent of this base court, says Carew, 138, "is rather to be conjectured then discerned," "by the remnant of some fewe ruines, amongst which [is] an oven of 14 foot largeness," or, as Norden writes more precisely, p. 59, "of 4 yardes and 2 foote diameter," the common oven for the family above, and for the servants below. But the erection of a chapel in it, though originally for the family, as well as the servants, shews it to have been an ample court. This chapel continued in use, when even the family chapel "cast out" of the castle "a newer work then it," was "now onrofid;" and when "the base court" was yet standing, but "sore defacid," even to the days of Leland (ibid.) And from this chapel of the Trinity, a house built upon the site of it by a late lesser of the court and castle, was denominated *Trinity* till a very few years ago; when it reverted to the more magnificent appellation of the castle, the base court assumed the title of its principal, and the building was denominated Restormel House.

“ nantes assembled themselves, and one of them yearly chosen as it
 “ came by turne, neatly attired, and as well mounted as he mighte,
 “ *having a crown on his heade, a cepter in his hande, with a sworde borne*
 “ *before him*, rode throwgh the towne; the rest (mounted also) attend-
 “ inge on this *counterfecte prince*, to the church, wher the minister,
 “ with greate cerimonie, mett him, and verie reverendly man’d him into
 “ the churche; and when dyvine exercise was done, he was likewise
 “ accompanied back agayn to a howse, prepayred for his entertaynment;
 “ wher, with greate cates and all daynties, with his *sewer, taster*, and
 “ *other princelyke attendantes*, being [he was] *served with knelinge at*
 “ *giving the cupp*, and suche lyke.—It seemeth, that this devise was not
 “ without approbation of some former famous founders, who noe dowbt
 “ firste invented it to sett fourth the royalties of Cornwall, and the honor
 “ of that dukedome, or was imposed as a service, wherby they held
 “ their freeholdes §.” All the features and lineaments of this pageantry
 are too expressive in themselves to admit any doubt concerning its im-
 port. It is the evident memorial of the tomb, the banner, and the
 escutcheon of buried royalty; instituted at first by the *royal* earl, it was
 continued by his successors. On the octave of Easter, the concluding
 day of the Easter festivity, he rode in parade through the town, with all
 the emblems of royalty about him, attended by all his principal tenants,
 went to the church, returned to the palace, and then dined in public,

§ Norden, 58. As Norden visited Cornwall personally, his account is equally authentic
 with Carew’s; but let us here state the latter as confirmatory of the former. “ Upon Little
 “ Easter Sunday,” says Carew, 137, “ the freeholders of the towne and manour, by them-
 “ selves or *their deputies*, did there assemble; amongst whom one, as it fell to his lot by
 “ turne, bravely appparelled, *gallantly mounted*, with a crowne on his head, a scepter in his
 “ hand, a sword borne before him, and dutifully attended by all the rest also on horseback,
 “ rode thorow the principall streete to the churche; there the curate, in his best besene,
 “ solemnely received him at the churchyard stile, and conducted him to heare divine ser-
 “ vice: after which he repaired, with the same pompe, to a house fore-provided for that pur-
 “ pose, made a feast to his attendants, *kept the tables end himselfe*, and was served with
 “ kneeling, assay, and all other rites due to the estate of a prince: with which dinner the
 “ ceremony endid, and every man returned home again. The pedigree of this usage is
 “ *derived from so many descents of ages*, that the cause and authour outreach remem-
 “ brance: howbeit, these circumstances offer a conjecture, that it should betoken the roy-
 “ alties appertaining to the honour of Cornwall. The “ custom” was “ only of late days
 “ discontinued.”

with all the pomp of royalty, the sewer, the taster, and the cup-bearer kneeling. The ghost of departed sovereignty thus hovered around the body which it formerly inhabited, still retaining a lively remembrance of its past connexions, still cherishing the fire of ambition in the very ashes of it, and longing to see them rekindle into a flame again: and the Saxons, the Normans continued the custom, because they found it a custom, because earls, either Norman or Saxon, love to assume the appearance of royalty if they can, and the ancient practice countenanced them in assuming it here. So established for ages, the pageantry survived when the princes were deceased, and the tenants continued what their lords had practised as well as patronized ||.

Of the British earls of Cornwall, Dr. Borlase specifies several by name as dukes*; but these are merely the creatures of imagination, in himself or in others. Thus we have "Alpsius, duke of Devon and Cornwall," without any authority alleged at all. We have "Orgerius—, duke of Devon and Cornwall," on the authority of that very historian, who, even as cited by Dr. Borlase himself, only styles him earl of Devon†. We have also "Eadulphus, son of Ordgarus," noticed on the same authority; though he is not even mentioned by that historian as earl of Devon, much less as earl of Cornwall, being merely mentioned as a son to the earl‡. And we have finally "Aylmar, alias Athelmar,—earl of Cornwall," on the evidence of a charter in the year 1002, relating to Whorwell monastery in Hampshire; one of the subscribers to which is "I Ethelmar

|| We have even a festivity similar to this in practice, and only a little dissimilar in purpose, at the city of Bath. "King Eadgar," as Leland informs us, "was *crounid* with much joy and honor at S. Peter's in Bath; wherupon he bare a great zeale to the towne, and gave very great frauncheses and privilages onto it. In knowlege wherof they pray in al their ceremonies for the soule of king Eadgar. And at *Whitsunday-tyde*, at the which tyme men say that Eadgar there was *crounid*, ther is a king *electid* at Bath every yere of the townes men, in the joyffulle remembraunce of king Eadgar, and the privileges gyven to the toun by hym. This king is *festid*, and his adherentes, by the richest menne of the toun." (Itin. ii. 68.)

* Borlase, 410, 411.

† Malmesbury, 146: "Ordgarum comitem Domnoniensem."

‡ Malmesbury, 146: "Fili ejus."

"minister,"

“*minister*,” without any the slightest reference to Cornwall, and with the attendance of no less than *fourteen* others, equally subscribing as *ministers*, but designing themselves merely to be *thanes*§. These misnamed earls of Cornwall, indeed, are all of them *confessedly* Saxons, because the two *first* of them are considered by the Doctor himself as earls of *Devon* equally with Cornwall. The name of the very first, Alpsius, is apparently Saxon; it being equally the name of a *bishop of Dorsetshire*, who died in 958||. Even the name of the last, Athelmar, is acknowledged by the Doctor, and must be acknowledged by all to be equally Saxon: yet Dr. Borlase has crowned all his mistakes by one gross contradiction to all; on the authority of Camden noting another earl “of the *royal British* blood,” *after* Athelmar, *after* four successive *kings of England*, and even *after* “Algar,” who “founded the abbey of Bruton in Somersetshire,” or “Odda,” who “was constituted earl over,” not Cornwall, but “Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Wales¶, and calling him “Condorus, alias Cadocus, *last* earl of Cornwall” in that blood. In thus acting he is as unjust to Camden as he is contradictory in himself. Camden alleges merely, that “of the earls of British blood only Candorus, alias Cadocus, the last earl of Cornwall, *is mentioned by modern writers**.” He does not aver the point, he only cites authority for it. He refers to *modern writers* for the suggestion. This reference too is the more remarkable, as it was not in the first editions of his work; the passage in 1594 running thus: “Of the earls of British blood only Cadocus, the last earl of Cornwall, *is mentioned*†.” Camden was

§ Monasticon, i. 258.

|| Florence, 355: “Alfsius Dorsetensium episcopus obiit.” This is nearly the same also with “Alfsinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus.” (*Ibid.*)

¶ Borlase, 411, says, “Algar—1046,—‘Odda constitutus fuit comes super Defernashire, Sumerset, Dorset, and Ofer Wealas’ (Sax. Chr. ad pag. 1048),” when the page cited is the year in reality, when the mixture of Latin and English in a passage marked as a citation is very strange, when the “Ofer Wealas” is only the same in the original as “Super Wallos” in the translation, and when the context shews it clearly to have no connexion at all with Cornwall.

* Camden, 142: “E Britannici sanguinis comitibus solum Candorus, alias Cadocus, ultimus Cornwalliæ comes, a recentioribus memoratur.”

† P. 130.

drawn away, like Dr. Borlase, by the confident assertions of some romancing moderns, but did what Dr. Borlase did not, recovered himself afterwards, put a proper mark upon his assertion, and founded it on its real basis of merely modern authority. He thus shewed his suspicion of the whole. But Dr. Borlase comes, adopts his suggestion, rejects his suspicion, yet rests all upon his testimony. The passage, however, thus cited by Dr. Borlase, and thus failing him, for one point, operates strongly against him in every other. Camden, in both forms of his sentence, shews us by his restrictive "only" he knew not, whatever Dr. Borlase may know, of any other Briton mentioned even by the moderns as earl of Cornwall. Yet, as we have seen before, WITHIEL was plainly one, and the very first. PONTIUS also appears from the same sort of evidences to have been another earl, and probably the second. At the mouth of Lestwithiel river, and for a signature of Lestwithiel's jurisdiction over it, is what is traditionally denominated *Pontius's Cross*; being a cross upon the left-hand rock, defining the limit of the town's jurisdiction, and standing the bound of the town's annual excursion by water towards the sea. It is plainly therefore the signature of an authority over this tide-river, conceded by some earl who lived in the palace here, and who favoured the town at its side. The Roman name of *Pontius* is derived from the *British* period of our history, like that of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* in the beginning of the sixth century, and that of *Eugenius Cæsarius* near the middle of the tenth. The name of *Pontius* continued even as a *family* appellation in the island, down to the middle ages; Thomas *Pontius* being abbot of Canterbury in the fourteenth century †, and Nicholas *Pontius* a member of Merton college in Oxford at the beginning of the fifteenth§. Thus a Roman name, which has been justly consigned to infamy in the commencing annals of our religion, appears to have been borne even by the true professors of Christianity in England and in Cornwall, many ages after the departure of the Romans from our isle. The

† Leland De Script. Brit. 332, 333. So we have, "Pontius ex Longobardâ filius," governor of Tripolis for the Christians, in the first crusade (Malmesbury, f. 86); and "Poncius—dictus, archidiaconus de Penbroc," in Wales (Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 482).

§ Ibid. 399.

name, however, was anglicized into *Poncy* ||, and frenchified into *Ponce* ¶; the former, a name not absolutely unfamiliar to our ears at present in *Pouncy*; and the latter, in the days of Leland, applied with a vulgar corruption to our cross at the mouth of Lestwithiel river. "The very point of land at the east side of the mouth of this haven," says Leland, "is caullid Pontus [Pontius's] Crosse, vulgo *Paunch Crosse**." Such were plainly two of Cornwall's British earls, both unknown to the pretended enumerators of those earls, and the only earls that are known by name; Condor, or Cadoc, or any others mentioned by moderns, being all the non-entities of fable: and it comes from those or other earls residing in their palaces of Penkenek or Restormel, that Lestwithiel has now the honour of being the metropolis of Cornwall, preserving the standard weights and measures for the county, retaining the hustings of election for the county members, and keeping the courts as well as the prison of the stannaries within it, together with the private right of anchorage in the river, and the *bushellage* of all measurable commodities in the town of Fowey at the mouth of it. Leskard must have been the metropolis originally, as Launceston must have been the metropolis since. The latter, indeed, is so far the metropolis still, as to have the session of the itinerant judges within it alternately with Bodmin, even to have had it exclusively of Bodmin, till the party-spirit, predominant through all the government of the first George, wanted to punish the opposed party-spirit of Launceston, so called in Bodmin to share the consequence with Launceston, and extended the privilege of the earl's town, in a paroxysm of ignorant anger, to an abbot's.

The Cornish episcopate thus survived the Cornish royalty, and continued when the royalty was shrivelled up into an earldom, but survived and continued only at St. German's. How wildly then does Dr. Borlase aver concerning Bodmin, that "as *this* was the most ancient society" of monks or clergymen, "and most flourishing, in Cornwall, and placed con-

|| Thorn in Twisden, 2066, 2067, "Thomæ Poncy."

¶ Pontius Pilate is called Ponce Pilat in the French Creed.

* Itin. iii. 37.

“veniently for that purpose; Edward the Elder settled here the episcopal
“see, A. D. 905†.” He alludes to that appointment of Athelstan as a
bishop for Cornwall, which I have shewn before to have been made in
910, and which *specifies no one see at all in Cornwall*. We therefore
need only to observe in addition to this remark, that the appointment was
void and unmeaning in its effect, as *Cornwall was not then reduced*.
That Cornwall, indeed, was then considered by the Saxons as *in some
measure* subject to them, is evident from the very terms in which two
Saxons, Bede actually living about two centuries before, and Malmesbury
writing in West-Saxony itself about two centuries after, speak of the
Cornish, as having “fallen to the lot of the West-Saxon kings,” as “not
“to be forced by violence, but led by reasons, from a schism,” which the
Saxons supposed them to form, and even expressly as “subjects to the
“West-Saxons‡.” Yet this consideration appears to have been merely
speculative, from the declaration of Malmesbury in another place, that
“Egbert gave the first proofs of his prowess in *subduing* the Britons who
“inhabit that part of the island which is called Cornwall§;” and from
the assertion of the Saxon Chronicle in harmony with it, that “he *ravaged*
“the country of the West-Wealas from eastward to westward||;” when
ravaging or *subduing* the region, of themselves, in their natural course,
and without the interposition of some other facts to divert them from it,
shew the natives *not* to have been previously subjected. But it is still
plainer, from the Cornish rejection of a Saxon bishop, endeavoured to be
imposed upon them by king Edward in 910; from Athelstan’s call upon

† Borlase, 380.

‡ Malmesbury in Gale, i. 349: “Qui North-Walli, id est, aquilonales Britones,” he
certainly means the West-Welsh, as the very Britons here meant, are expressly called in the
corresponding portion of the Saxon Chronicle, “parte West-Saxonum regum obvenerant,”
while the real North-Welsh could not possibly have so fallen, all Mercia lying between West-
Saxony and them, while, indeed, the West-Welsh alone could, as the only Britons border-
ing upon West-Saxony;—“non vi cogendos schismaticos, sed rationibus ducendos.” Bede’s
Hist. v. 18, “eorum qui Occidentalibus Saxonibus subditi erant Britones.”

§ Malmesbury, 19: “Egbertus—prima virium documenta in Brittannos, qui eam insulæ
“partem inhabitant, quæ Cornu Galliae dicitur, dedit; quibus subjugatis,” &c.

|| Sax. Chron. A. D. 813.

them to acknowledge his supremacy in 927; from their refusal to do so; from their advance into the field to engage his army; from their defeat, their temporary submission, and their absolute reduction in 936. All shews Edward's appointment of a bishop for Cornwall to have been made only from that principle of usurpation upon the Cornish, which was founded on the real weakness, seeming submission, and timorous amity, in the Cornish towards the Saxons. Thus in 867 Alfred, only nineteen years of age, went a-hunting into Cornwall, without any fear in himself, or any restraint from others; then turned aside one day to pay his devotions to God in a church there, and earnestly supplicated God in it for a particular blessing¶. All this carries the appearance of as much amity, or as much submissiveness, in Cornwall towards the Saxons, as could be shewn even by the Saxons themselves: yet we see the appearance still stronger in another incident. Neot, the very near relation of Alfred, came also into Cornwall, even settled as a monk, and lived as a saint, in the heart of it; died there, was buried there, and consigned his own name to the place*. We actually see the appearance stronger still in a third incident. Alfred nominated Asser, his chaplain and historian, to the bishopric of *Exeter*, as Asser himself tells us; and thus shews the episcopal seat of Devonshire decisively to have then been as I have placed it, and as all analogy tells us it must have been originally placed, at that capital of the *Damnonii*, though it was soon afterwards transferred to Crediton, "with
*" all its diocese, which belonged to Alfred in England and in Corn-
 " wall†."* The kings of West-Saxony therefore, as early as Alfred and before his son Edward, considered Cornwall to be distinct from their realm of England, yet a part of their general dominions; considered it to be under their own prelate of Exeter; and so, by virtue of that principle, which gave the patronage of all ecclesiastical benefices to those who originally endowed them with lands, nominated a bishop for Cornwall in design by nominating one for Devonshire in fact. Then Edward came, appointed one for Devonshire by itself, and therefore appointed another

¶ Asser, 40, Wise.

* Ibid. *ibid.*

† Ibid, 51: "Dedit mihi Exanceastre, cum omni parochiâ quæ ad se pertinebat in Saxoniâ
 " et in Cornubiâ."

for Cornwall by itself. If then with Dr. Borlase we repute these nominees of the Saxon kings, to be actually bishops of Cornwall; we ought to begin much earlier than the Doctor's 905 or my 910, and mount up to Asser as well as Athelstan for one of our Cornish bishops. Alfred's or Edward's bishops, however, were only nominal prelates of Cornwall; the kings of Cornwall still retaining the power of appointment to their own bishoprics, and the diocese of Cornwall still remaining independent of the see of Devonshire. This the whole tenor of the previous history shews, and this the whole of the subsequent will confirm. Nor is the coming of Alfred into Cornwall, or the settlement of Neot in it, of any more moment against this double history, than the Cornish community of possession with the Saxons in Exeter would be against the certain right of the Saxons to the whole of a city, which was the seat of their Devonshire prelate, and so *their* ecclesiastical capital for Devonshire, together with Cornwall †.

But that the monastery of Bodmin was, what Dr. Borlase asserts it to be, "the most flourishing in Cornwall," as early as 905, must carry an astonishing sound in it to the ears of those who have just heard demonstratively, that there was no real monastery at Bodmin till 936, and that the valley of Bodmin before was merely a hermitage for four persons. "Here," adds Dr. Borlase however, "the bishops of Cornwall resided till the year 981, when the town, church, and monastery being burnt down by the Danes, the bishops removed their seat further east, to St. German's on the river Lyner. The monastery seems to have continued in ruins for some time, and went into the possession of the earl of Moreton and Cornwall at the Conquest §." That the main substance of all this is false history, we have seen before; yet let us see it again.

The destruction of Bodmin in 981 is all founded upon a gross misapprehension. In that year, says Florence indeed, "*the monastery of St. Petroc the confessor in Cornwall was laid waste by the pirates,*

† Malmesbury, 28: "Excestre, quam *ad id temporis* æquo cum Anglis jure inhabitant."

§ Borlase, 380.

“who laid waste Southampton the year before; who afterwards,” after sacking Southampton, “did in Devonshire, and in Cornwall itself, collect frequent plunder along the shores of the sea ||.” But this incident has no relation to *Bodmin*; it refers only to *Padstow*. The express restriction of these piratical ravages to “the shores of the sea,” confines it determinately to the latter. The monastery which was built by Athelstan with the monastery of Bodmin, in honour equally of St. Petrock, who landed at Padstow, and in subjection also to that of Bodmin where he died, was erected upon the site of that “beautiful house in the neighbourhood, like a castle,” as Camden says for the first time in 1607, “which N. Prideaux, a gentleman of an ancient name and family, *lately* built in those western parts ¶.” This site is familiarly and colloquially denominated *Place*, but more formally in the writings concerning it (I understand) *Place Noun*; the word *Plás* in Cornish originally signifying a *Palace* in English, and so (in that derivative spirit of propriety among the monks formerly, which yet we ridicule among the Italians at present) giving the appellation of *Place* occasionally to a gentleman’s house in Cornwall, or in England; but coming at last to signify in Welsh, what *Place* signifies in English, the residence of any one, the humble abode of a very hermit, nay even the very space that is occupied by any thing*. *Plás Noun*, therefore, imports the place or palace of the monks†. This *place* coming to the Prideauxes with the superior man-
sion

¶ Florence, 362: “Sancti Petroci confessoris monasterium in Cornubiâ devastatum est a piratis, qui deinde in Domnoniâ, et in ipsâ Cornubiâ, circa ripas maris frequentes prædas agebant.” So Hoveden, 245, likewise, and M. Westm. 379.

¶ Camden, 140: “Spetiosæ ædes instar castelli adjunctæ, quas nuper N. Prideaux, antiqui nominis et nobilitatis, in hóc occiduo tractu extruxit.” The notice is not in the edition of 1590, p. 122, and not in that of 1594, p. 126.

* Lhuyd’s Archæol. 282. So *Place*, a cell of monks formerly at St. Anthony near St. Mawes, and again at St. Anthony near St. German’s. So “Place Amidowe,” near Denbigh in North-Wales; “the name declarith it to have beene the place of an heremite.” (Leland’s Itin. v. 59.) *Palace* and *Place* are so truly Roman-British, that neither of them is discoverable in the Saxon, though the latter is so familiar in the English.

† *Nonnus* in Latin is a monk, and *Nonna* a nun; both derived from the language of that original seat of nuns and monks, Egypt. Hence come *Nunnes* for monks, in some Latin
canons

sion of Bodmin, and carrying all its rights with it to the new possessors, gave to this only branch surviving of the male Prideauxes, a family purely Cornish in its origin, settled originally at Prideaux Castle not far from St. Austle, and there ending in an heiress under the reign of Henry VI., the lordship of the town and the patronage of the church of Padstow, for a younger son; while the elder possessed the great tithes of the parish, with the great tithes and patronage of Bodmin church: and as we have seen Padstow substituted for Bodmin before, when the town meant is said to have been some miles from the Severn shore; so we find Bodmin substituted for Padstow now, when the town is declared to have been upon the shore of the sea †.

Nor does the monastery of Bodmin, whatever Dr. Borlase may affirm, “*seem* to have continued in ruins for some time;” nor did it go, either ruined or not ruined, “into the possession of the earl of Moreton and Cornwall at the Conquest.” These incidental notices in Dr. Borlase are just as erroneous as the main substance has appeared before. Since the monastery was *not* reduced into ruins in 981, it *could not* “continue in ruins for some time” afterwards. There is indeed no semblance, no shadow, however slight and faint, of any such continuance. The monastery actually appears in Domesday Book, all erect and entire as early as the preceding parts of William’s reign, as early as Harold’s reign preceding them, even as early as the reign of Edward antecedent to both; all

canons of the Saxon church (Wilkins’s Concilia, i. 97, “*Monachi seu Nunnonas*,” Canon xix. A. D. 747); *Nonnos* in Saxon, for “*juniore in monasteriis priores ætate*” (Manning); *Nun* in Saxon, for “*pupillus*” (*ibid.*); and *Nun*, *Nunne*, a nun. Hence undoubtedly, by mistaking the meaning of the word, come “*Nunnys*” at Bodmin priory in Leland’s Itin. ii. 115. The word *Noun* therefore for a nun or monk, must formerly have been in the British language; though this local appellation at Padstow is the only one I know, in which it now occurs amongst all the dialects of the British.

† Carew, 43: “*Idem Will. [de Campo Arnulphi] tenet in Pridias feodum:*” 44, “*hæres Thomæ de Pridias tenet in Boswhyghergy 1 feod. paru.:*” 47, “*Pridiaux:*” 51, “*Rogerus Pridyas:*” 52, “*Dominus Thomas de Pridias.*” And, says the Baronetage, i. 516, edit. 1741, from the information of the family: “*In this family Prideaux Castle continued till temp. Hen. VI., when it went away with a daughter and heir, married to Thomas Herle of West-Herle in the county of Northumberland.*”

the

the time possessed of many estates, with some little encroachments upon them in the reigns of Harold and William, even at the period of Doomsday Book itself, not gone “into the possession of the earl,” and only deprived of some few lands by his violence. “*The church of St. Petroc,*” says the record, “holds Bodmine,—there has *Saint Petroc* LXVIII houses “and one market §. *The church itself* holds Lanwenehoc—. *The church itself* holds Rieltone—. Berner holds under *Saint Petroc* “Lanchehoc; Caduualant held it under *the Saint* in the time of *king Edward*—. *Earl Moriton* holds under *Saint Petroc* Tiwarthel; Algar “held it in the time of *king Edward*—. The same earl holds under “*Saint Petroc* Elhill; a thane held it in the time of *king Edward*—. “The same earl holds under *Saint Petroc* Calestock; a thane held it in “the time of *king Edward*—. The same earl holds under *Saint Petroc* “Cargau; a thane held it in the time of *king Edward*—*.” The record thus goes on for five manors more. “Richard holds under *Saint* “*Petroc* Turgoil; Godric held it under *the Saint* in the time of *king* “*Edward*—. Machus holds under *Saint Petroc* Fosnewit; he himself “held it in the time of *king Edward*—. *Saint Petroc himself* holds “Elil—. *Saint Petroc himself* holds Widie—. *Saint Petroc himself* “holds Tretdeno—†.” The record at last comes to some lands taken away

§ The house, having been “lately built” before 1607, and with the largeness or strength of a castle, cannot be expected to shew any marks of the monastery. But just before you reach the gate in the outer wall, is now one house, and lately were two houses, very old, an apparent appendage to the monastery, and the very abodes of some families that lived upon the broken meat dispensed at this gate: and the outer wall itself appears also to be very old, a door-way being seen closed up, the original entrance to it before you reach the gate; and the whole wall, I believe, except the gate, except the battlements also, being the original fence of the monastery.

* Doomsday Book, fol. 120: “*Eccle S. Petroc tenet Bodmine—, ibi habet S. Petroc* “*LXVIII domos et unum mercatum—.* *Ipsa æccle tenet Lanwenehoc—.* *Ipsa æccle* “*tenet Rieltone—.* Berner tenet de S. Petroc Lanchehoc, Caduualant tenebat de Sancto “T. R. E.—Comes Moriton. tenet de S. Petroco Tiwarthel, Algar tenebat T. R. E.—Idem “comes tenet de S. Petroco Elhill, unus tainus tenebat T. R. E.—Idem comes tenet de S. “Petroc Calestock, unus tainus tenebat T. R. E.—Idem comes tenet de S. Petroc Cargau, “unus tainus tenebat T. R. E.”

† Ibid. ibid. “Ricardus tenet de S. Petroco Turgoil, Godric tenebat de Sancto T. R. E.—

“Machus

away from the church. “*Earl Harold took from Saint Petroc unjustly one hide of land, for which king William commanded a judgment to be held, and the Saint to be re-seisined by the justiciary †.*” “From the church of Saint Petroc has been taken away Cudiford,—the king holds it §.” Thus the exemplary act of justice done by William before, appears merely to have been done because it was against Harold; and the sacrilegious violence of Harold is here repeated, even by William himself. Nor was William the only plunderer of the church. The earl imitated his sovereign, and the sacrilege of both is registered for ever in this *human Book of Doomsday*. “These lands mentioned below have been taken away from Saint Petroc, earl Moriton holds them, and his men under him ||.” Yet these consist only of “one virgate of land,” of “half a hide,” and of another “virgate; of half a hide” again, of “half a hide” once more, of a third “virgate,” and of a fourth ¶. Such are the slender portions of land which Dr. Borlase has worked up into all the manors and estates belonging to Bodmin priory. He has thus, with the magic of a hand making modern improvements in grounds, expanded his brook into a river, and set his vessels at anchor upon it. But, however agreeable such a deception may be in such improvements, it is all fraudulence and falsification in the scenes of history. “All the lands above-described Saint Petroc held in the time of king Edward. These lands never paid geld but to the church itself*.” In so flourishing a condition does the priory appear upon the face of this record, at the very time when Dr. Borlase represents it as in ruins! So richly endowed does

“Machus tenet de S. Petroco Fosnewit, ipse tenebat T. R. E.—Ipse Sanctus Petro tenet

“Elil—. Ipse Sanctus Petroc tenet Widie—. Ipse Sanctus Petroc tenet Tretдено.”

† Doomsday Book, fol. 120: “Comes Haraldus abstulit S. Petro injustè 1 hidam terræ,

“pro quâ W. Rex præcepit judicamentum teneri, et Sanctum per justiciam resaisiri.”

§ Ibid. ibid. “De æccla S. Petroc ablata est Cudiford—, rex tenet—.”

|| Ibid. ibid. “Hæ infra-scriptæ terræ sunt ablatae S. Petroco. Comes Moriton. tenet, et homines ejus de eo.”

¶ Ibid. ibid. “In—una virgata terræ—; in—dimidia hida terræ—; in—una virgata terræ—; in—dimidia hida terræ—; in—dimidia hida terræ—; in—una virgata terræ—; in—una virgata terræ—.”

* Ibid. ibid. “Omnes superiùs descriptas terras tenebat T. R. E. Sanctus Petrocus. Hujusce terræ nunquam reddiderunt geldum nisi ipsi æcclæ.”

it also appear at the very moment when the Doctor sequesters all its property, and resigns it up to the rapacious hands of the earl! But after all, and to complete the sum of all, about the year 1125 “Willyam Warlewist bishop of Excestre,” as Leland notes, “erected the last foundation of this priory, and *had to hymself* part of *thauncient lands* of Bodmyn monasterie †.” So utterly false is Dr. Borlase’s account of the Conquest as affecting Bodmin; one of several instances serving to shew, how much our history of that period for the nation at large remains to this day distorted by popular error, and discoloured with vulgar folly ‡.

Nor

† Leland’s Itin. ii. 115.

‡ Yet Dr. Borlase’s account is derived (I believe) from an author, truly respectable, but uncited; Leland himself, who has furnished us in his Itinerary with such an evidence against the Doctor, thus wandering away into *his* mistake in another work. “Comes Moridunensis,” he there says, “—fanum Petroci *prædiis* spoliavit *omnibus*” (De Script. Brit. 61). A reference has also been made to this passage as containing a certain fact, by the ingenious writer of “Some Account of the Church and Windows of St. Neot’s in Cornwall, London, 1786;” the writer saying thus of the earl in p. 3, “Leland informs us, that he seized—on *all* the lands belonging to the monastery of St. Petroc in Bodmyn.”—Of the other instances alluded to in the text, the tale of the curfew is one. The appointment of this was *not*, as it is generally believed to have been, an act of tyrannical oppression upon the natives,

Who, shiv’ring wretches, at the curfew sound

Dejected shrunk into their sordid beds,

And, through the mournful gloom, of ancient times

Mus’d sad, or dreamt of better.

It was not even, as has been recently and more rationally believed by a few, a deed of defence against fires by putting them out for the night; the very term *couvre-feu*, or *courfeu*, not indicating any *extinction* of fires at all, as both the interpretations suppose, but merely the *covering them up* for the better preservation of them against the morning, as is still practised in many parts of England every night. In truth, it was merely a mode of civil economy, for the regulation of the hours. In the fashion of spending the day then, a bell at eight in the evening was just as proper and expedient to *announce the hour of going to bed*, as a bell at five in the morning was for *proclaiming the hour of rising from bed*. Both therefore are almost equally continued among us to the present day.—So likewise, says an author concerning the same English under the Conquest, “it grew to be customary with this unfortunate race, whether remaining at home, or seeking shelter in the woods, *to barricade their doors every night*,” as if doors were not every night barricaded equally before the Conquest, “and at the same time *invoke the protection of the Almighty in prayer*, as uncertain of ever
“seeing

Nor has the removal of the see from Bodmin to St. German's in 981, as asserted by Dr. Borlase, any other ground to rest upon, nor does it pretend to have any, even in the misinterpretations of history, than his equally asserted ruin of Bodmin itself. *That* is merely an inference from *this*; an inference wholly presumptive, from an incident totally false. But the presumption is refuted at once by a record, which shews us the see of St. German's existing near half a century before, as we have already seen, and even specifies the very clergyman then nominated to fill it. It is again refuted by a second record, which sinks in date below, while that rises above the year 981, thus hedges in the year on both sides, and exhibits Bodmin to us in 994, *actually associated with St. German's* in the designation of the Cornish see. So thoroughly is this imaginary notion the very reverse of truth! The town had now risen by the side of the monastery at Bodmin, and both were considerable enough to receive this honour at present. "For the love of the holy confessor GERMANUS, "and of the blessed excellent Petroc," cries Ethelred king of England, in 994, only *thirteen* years after Dr. Borlase avers St. Petroc's monastery at Bodmin to have been reduced to ruins, and to have continued "for some "time" in those ruins; "I have granted the *bishopric of Ealdred the "bishop* (it is *in the province of Cornwall*), that it be subject to him and "all his successors, that he himself is to govern and rule it as his diocese, "that the place and government of St. Petroc is to be always in his "power, and in the power of his successors*." This is plainly an annexation

"*seeing the next day*," when, for the common credit of the Saxons as Christians, we *must* believe they equally every evening "invoked the protection of the Almighty in prayer," and when we know they were expressly required by their clergy, "every one" to "pray for himself twice a day *at least*, that is, morning and evening." (Theodulf's Capitula, A. D. 994, Johnson.) Yet, to shew how high the spirit of popular absurdity can ascend, our author adds thus: "A practice this," says *M. Paris*, "which continues even to this day (1252), "though the dangers are past;" as if the custom of praying every evening, and every evening shutting up doors, had never been known in the Christian world before the late period of the Conquest (see Mr. Newcome's Ancient History of St. Alban's Abbey, p. 42). The Conquest seems to have so strongly affected the minds of our countrymen with terror, that even now they can see nothing but spectres and dæmons dancing in the shade of it.

* Monasticon, i. 227: "Pro amore—sancti confessoris Germani, necnon et beati "eximii Petroci,—donavi episcopium Ealdredi episcopi (id est in provinciâ Cornubiæ), ut
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nexation of the monastery of Bodmin to the episcopate of St. German's. The mention of *Germanus*, the mention of him in the *first* place, and the omission of all subjugation of *St. German's* monastery to the bishop, concur to prove the bishop *already settled at St. German's*, and *therefore* possessed of *authority already* over the monastery there. At the same time the very different conduct of the charter, in ordering "the place and government of *St. Petroc*,—to be *always in his power*, and in the power of "his successors," is strikingly contrasted with this, and marks *the actual subjugation of Bodmin monastery at the time, to the bishop of St. German's*. This bishop "was still to have his diocese in the province of "Cornwall,—subject to him and all his successors," and "he himself" was still "to govern and rule it as his diocese." No change was made in the jurisdiction and seat of the bishop. *This* was still left at St. German's, and *that* was still allowed to be commensurate with Cornwall. But the monastery of Bodmin was now annexed to the see, the name of Bodmin was now subjoined to that of St. German's, and the bishop became by this concession from the crown, the prelate of Cornwall under the combined titles of St. German's and of Bodmin; just as, by the same sort of annexation formerly, the see of Litchfield is now entitled Litchfield and Coventry.

In such an inverted position has the history of the Cornish episcopate been hitherto exhibited to the world! All this has resulted from one false assumption; and a wrong step at the outset has plunged all our writers into a wilderness of errors. That the see was originally at Bodmin, was taken up for a real fact by Malmesbury, in an extraordinary paroxysm of confusion, in a half-conscious contradiction to his own averment before, and therefore with a hesitation of spirit natural to such a state of mind. His authority, though balanced by the weight of the true opinion, placed by himself from others in the opposite scale; though even thrown up into the air by his own positive averment before; though

"—sit ei—subjecta omnibusque posteris ejus, ut ipse gubernet atque regat suam parochiam,
 "—locusque atque regimen Sancti Petroci semper in potestate ejus—sit successorumque
 "illius."

fixed

fixed for ever immoveable there by the concurrent testimony of two other historians, by the records of St. German's abbey, and by the memorials of Bodmin priory; was weakly, wildly believed to preponderate. The settlement of the Cornish see at Bodmin was transmitted from pen to pen without examination. Then the whole system of history was obliged to be reversed, in order to accommodate the acknowledged facts of it to this believed falsity. The sun was compelled to go back in its course, and to travel from west to east, in order to suit this new position of the heavens*.

* Let me here notice one very remarkable point in the true history of Bodmin that is wholly unknown to the writers of the county, yet is still cognised by the long-reaching memory of tradition at the town, is soon recorded in published annals, and serves to complete an observation of some consequence which I have made before. At the Conquest, as we have seen, Bodmin contained only *sixty-eight* houses within it; but it greatly increased afterwards. This the number of churches and chapels in the town, at the time of Leland's visit to it, forcibly suggests to us. There was, besides the priory or parish-church, "at the *est* ende of the town," and besides "a cantuarie chapel at theste ende of *it*;" "a chapel of S.....," of St. Leonard, I believe, as the statue of a saint is still remaining in Bodmin with S. L. on the back, "at the *west* ende of the toune." There was also the church "of Gray Freres," now the shire-hall, "on the *south* side of Bodmin town," founded in 1239 (Worcester, 99); and there was "another chapel in Bodmyn, beside that in the west *ende* of the toune" (Itin. ii. 114, 115); the very church of Berry on the *north*, now remaining in its tower alone, but formerly receiving its appellation from that bury or camp once there upon the height, to which the name of Castle-street for the eastern end of the town still refers, and formerly communicating its own appellation to the valley of Burg-umb below it. But I have still better authority for the populousness of Bodmin once, than mere suggestions from Leland. "In registro apud Bodman ecclesiam Fratrum Minorum," says William of Worcester, citing a register in that very church of the Gray Friars above: "Magna pestilencia per universum mundum, inter Saracenos,—et postea inter Christianos; incepit primò in Angliâ circa kalend. Augusti, et parum ante Nativitatem Domini intra vit villam Bodminiæ, ubi mortui fuerunt circa MILLE QUINGENTOS per estimacionem; et numerus *fratrum* defunctorum a capitulo generali Lugduniæ celebratum [celebrato], anno *Christi* 1351, usque ad aliud sequens capitulum generale, fuit de *fratribus*," the Gray or Minor Friars *every where*, "tres-decim millia octingenti octaginta tres, exceptis sex vicariis." (P. 112, 113.) How populous must Bodmin have then been to suffer such a sweep as this, *fifteen hundred* of its inhabitants carried off by a plague! But *now* we can see for the *first* time the propriety of that remark in Norden, which says Bodmin "hath bene of larger re-ccite than now it is, as appeareth by the ruynes of sundrye buyldings decayde." (P. 72.) We also see doubly evident the folly of attributing this decay to a local unhealthiness which

does not exist. The secret ground for such a charge now appears to have been only a sickness particular and temporary, that pulled down Bodmin indeed from its proud pre-eminence in the county, to its present mediocrity of consequence within it, but involved equally with the town the whole county, the whole island, and the whole continent. It was during this pestilence that *seven thousand* persons died at Yarmouth in Norfolk under the year 1348 (Worcester, 344); and that *fifty thousand* were buried on the site of the present Charterhouse in London, under 1349 (Stowe's London, 477, 478). This pestilence, says Stowe, 477, "entring this island, began first in Dorsetshire; then proceeded into Devonshire [and "Cornwall], Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and at length came to London; whereupon Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, in the year 1348, bought the Charterhouse land above."

CHAPTER SECOND.

SECTION I.

I HAVE now shewn from the certain reports of history, that the original cathedral of Cornwall was at St. German's. I therefore proceed to a new kind of testimony, in favour of the same point. The very church of St. German's concurs with all at this day; there we see the cathedral existing with all the signatures of a cathedral to the present moment; while the church of Bodmin exhibits no signs, and so preserves no traditions of any episcopal pre-eminence that it ever enjoyed by itself or with another; the church of St. German's presents various relics, and retains various traditions of that cathedral dignity which it long maintained without a partner, and even with a partner maintained in a high tone of superiority over all the churches of Cornwall. The church of Bodmin indeed, as I have previously noted*, was rebuilt about 1125; and all traces of its episcopacy *may* have then perished, with its episcopal church: but as this church became episcopal after it was built, and merely as a cathedral subsidiary to St. German's, it could never have had any *original* emblems of its episcopate, and most probably had never any *permanent* at all; if it had ever possessed such, they would have been protected in the demolition, we may be sure, with a solicitude similar to what was shewn, concerning the chapel of St. Petrock: and the tradition, which has fled equally with the signatures themselves, would then have been cherished with peculiar liveliness, by appealing continually to those sensible vouchers for its veracity.

The church of St. German's consists at present of a nave and two ailes, almost entirely built of a stone brought from a quarry about four miles off, that is called from its position Tarton Down. The nave is entered

* See i. 3, before.

under a large portal from the west, flanked on the north and south with a tower. Both these rise square about two thirds of their height, even to the entablature of each; both are asserted by tradition to have then formed an octangular turret for the remainder, and that on the north still forms one. THE SOUTHERN TOWER AND SOUTHERN AILE COMPOSED THE SMALL CATHEDRAL. These are apparently one whole in themselves. Close to this tower on the south, and with it forming the western termination of that aile, is what was the primary portal of the cathedral; a small porch of an oblong square, with one door to the west, one to the south, and a third on the east into the church; it was therefore the one only entrance into the church originally, but equally from the south and west. The ground on both sides has risen so very high since the construction of the church, that there is now a descent into it of one step by the western doorway, and of three by the southern; though there still remains, as there must always have been, a descent of four from it into the church. This strongly marks the antiquity of the building. The tower adjoining to the porch has a small arch facing the aile, and had a large one looking north, but now closed up. The aile itself is only the breadth of this tower and that porch, about six-and-twenty feet only. So narrow was the cathedral of Cornwall! But the whole is apparently divided, as a complete church of itself, into two parts, the body and the chancel. The former runs on with the breadth above, about eight-and-forty feet; but then contracts into a breadth of twenty-two and a half only for a length of thirty-seven.

At the upper end of this chancel, is what was apparently formed for and is popularly considered as THE BISHOP'S THRONE, being a rounded niche a foot deep in the very substance of the eastern wall, *evidently made with it*, and fixed in the middle between the two windows there. It is about six feet in height, with two and a half in breadth, having a stone seat at the bottom, and this raised six feet nine inches above the level of the floor. At the head of this niche *within* are some small *fillets* of stone; and a small dove of stone, as the emblem of the Holy Ghost, in the centre. On each side of the niche *without* are the remains of a staff carved on the wall, carrying a cross-piece on the top, and presenting the appearance of
a tall

a tall crutch; the true CROZIER of antiquity, as I shall hereafter shew*. Directly over the niche is equally carved upon the wall, but remains more evident to the eye at present, a large and tall MITRE, surmounted by a cross.

Near this, but in the *southern* wall, is another niche, equally coeval with the wall itself, yet much lower in elevation, and very different in form: it is not rounded at the back and top, but flat behind and arch-like above, having much ornamental carving on some small pillars that are tied by a *fascia* of stone into a neat kind of arch, or (to express myself for once in language more technical in itself, but more obscure to the generality) the arch, which appears to have been formerly scalloped, rests on three clustered columns upon each side, while the pediment over the arch, and the fineals of the buttresses at the sides, are richly purfled, as beneath the arch is an ornament of quaterfoils: and this niche carries, equally with that, a stone seat at the bottom. This then I consider, without any aid from tradition, and from the mere analogy of the whole, to be THE STALL OF THE CHAPLAIN; the only officer under the bishop, then attending continually upon him, but acting equally as a chaplain and a chancellor to him. Thus the kings of Wales retained only one clergyman in the train of their court, as late as the tenth century; who was generally called the *offeiriad*, or the administrator of the Eucharist; who was to bless the meat at meals, *chant the Lord's Prayer*, and then sit down at the table opposite to the master of the king's hounds. He ranked in dignity next to the very prefect of the palace; was always to be about the person of the king, as one of his inseparable attendants; and with those two officers immediately below him, the steward and the judge of the household, was to keep up the dignity of the court, in *determining such causes as the king did not attend himself*. He was also to reside in what was denominated the chaplain's house, together with his scholars, that were training up for orders under him; and for that reason assuredly was to present, just as our lord chancellor for a similar reason, but under greater restrictions, presents now to churches in the

* Chap. iii. Sec. 2.

royal patronage*. We find also our Saxon and Norman kings, attended each like the British with a single chaplain only. Thus Ingulphus speaks of "*the presbyter* of the royal palace," in the days of Edmund Ironside†; the Saxon Chronicle notices one Giffard in the reign of Henry I. as "*the king's hird-clerc*," or family-clergyman‡; and the same Chronicle again notices, in the reign of the Conqueror, several bishops elect, as what the notice immediately preceding shews them to be, *successively* the king's chaplains, or "*the king's clerks§*." Just so we find Canute, when sovereign of all England, represented by the same Chronicle, as giving a church of his own foundation to "*his own priest*, whose name was "*Stigand ||*." But, to come closer to the point, we see as early as 710 "*Acca, Wilfrid's priest*," consecrated to the bishopric that Wilfrid had held before ¶; and in 685, upon John's resignation of the bishopric of York, "*Wilfrid his priest*" consecrated to it**. So accurately is a single seat formed, for the single clergyman then attendant on the bishop!

Nor are seats of stone for bishops and their accompanying divines, however strange they may seem to my readers here, wholly unknown and unnoticed in other parts of the island. In the chapter-house of Tavistock abbey, a structure of great beauty, formed as round as a compass could possibly form one, yet now ruined, were "*36 seats in the inside, wrought out in the walls, all arched over head with curious carved stones ††*." But, in the chapter-house belonging to the cathedral of Elgin in Scotland, are still "*five stalls cut by way of niches for the bishop (or the dean*

* Leges Hoeli Boni, Wotton, 18, 14, 19, 23, 30, 19. *Offeiriad* is rendered generally *Priest*, but in strict propriety means what I have stated it to mean; as *Bara Offeren* is the bread administered in the Eucharist, p. 98 and 181.

† P. 499, Savile.

‡ Sax. Chron. p. 225.

§ Ibid. p. 186.

|| Ibid. p. 151.

¶ Ibid. p. 50.

** Ibid. p. 46.

†† Leland's Coll. vi. 260.

“in the bishop’s absence), and *the dignified clergy, to sit in*; the middle stall for the *bishop* or dean is larger, and *raised a step higher*, than the “other four*.” These symbolize sufficiently with ours at St. German’s, to shew the general use of ours. These, however, are not in the church, but in the chapter-house. In the abbey-church of Glastonbury, upon the remaining wall of the quire on the south, but between the first and second window (I think) from the east, is a little kind of canopy formed by two slender pillars that run up the side of the wall, and unite in a peak at top, where tradition fixes the throne of the abbot†. But in Exeter cathedral, on the southern side of the altar, and below the ascent to it, are three regular stalls of stone (narrow, tall, and carved), traditionally reported to be the same which are historically known to have existed near the altar, and in the middle one of which Edward the Confessor with his queen actually installed Leofric, to give him possession of his new-erected prelacy; the king, adds tradition, then placing himself in the easterly stall, but the queen taking her seat in the westerly‡: and in the cathedral at Rochester are equally three stalls of stone, on the same side of the altar as those at Exeter, all distinguished by shields of arms, and one of them by the very arms of the see§. All shews a stone stall for a bishop, to have been not uncommon formerly near the altar of his cathedral; yet as seats of stone for the prelate *and his chaplain* near the altar, ours at St. German’s I believe to be unparalleled in all the island.

In the body of this church, and near the eastern end of it, is a doorway now closed up, apparent within the church, but more apparent as unplastered without. This is reported by tradition to be the very

* Shaw’s History of Moray, 278.

† We may the less wonder at a throne for an abbot, when we know he had his “abbot’s inn,” now the George, an old and curious building, in the town; and his “judgment-hall,” where he tried and condemned offenders: part is of the same style in building, ornamented (like that) with arms in stone over the door, yet in appearance not so old or so large as that.

‡ Monasticon, i. 229, and the present work, iii. 2. vii. 1.

§ Archæ. x. 267.

door, THROUGH WHICH THE BISHOP USED TO ENTER THE CHURCH from his palace a little distant. It now has the ground without by length of time raised nearly to a level with the crown of the arch, but kept off from the church by a wall and a fosse.

Just by this on the west is an arch in the church-wall within, which tradition notes as THE TOMB OF THE BISHOPS. This consists of a covering-stone, which seems to have large letters upon it, running in four lines for the length of the stone, and all parallel. These, however, are only the hollows, by which four brass plates have been fastened to the stone with melted lead; some of the lead still remaining in the hollows. So we see iron rings fastened with lead in the sepulchral chest of the Saxon bishop of Winchester, Swithin, during the ninth century *. But, what is very remarkable, this covering-stone appears upon examination to have been laid over the tomb, as the throne, the stall, and the doorway, must have been formed, *at the very time when the wall was built*; being now inserted into the body of the wall, at the two ends and on the further side. The fourth line is more than half buried within the wall, and the fourth plate must have been affixed while the wall was in building †. It could therefore be merely general in its inscription, and the plates with particular inscriptions could be only three. This shews it to be a mere cenotaph, prepared at the construction of the church, and indicating the sepulture of the bishops near it. Accordingly, upon removing a part of the front stone below, which has some plain carving upon it, I found the whole substance of the seeming tomb to be merely the wall of the church, very hard, quite solid, and only built in the form of a tomb. So built it was, that those might have an honourable memorial of their sepulture, who were to act in so dignified a relation to this church; and who, by being buried in the body of the church, beneath the floor of it,

* Malmesbury, f. 139: "Annulos ferreos violenter cum plumbo lapidi sepulchri affixos."

† How erroneously therefore has Mr. Lethieullier conjectured thus, in Arch. ii. 297: "Upon the whole, where we have not a positive date, I should hardly guess any brass plate "I met with to be *older than 1350*, and *few so old*." By such random guesses as this, all antiquity is contracted to a span, and ages are squeezed with the Iliad into a nut-shell!

would otherwise have no monumental memorial at all. Some of them were buried (I believe) about a yard directly to the north of this monument; and there I explored the ground with an iron bar, in search of their stone coffins; but when this told me there were none in the ground, the search was discontinued. The only relic, indeed, which I expected to find in the coffins, was the ring that each of the prelates had formerly worn.

Rings are derived to us from a custom, as universal as the love of ornament among the nations of the earth, and common to the Romans, the Gauls, or the Britons; while the mode of wearing them is wholly Roman among us at present, and has always been so since the Roman conquest. This we may collect from several circumstances, little in themselves independent of each other, but uniting in one testimony. The Romans wore rings even so familiarly upon their *thumbs*, that, among many evidences of the bodily hugeness of the emperor Maximius the elder, his *thumb* is recorded to have been so large, as to bear upon it his queen's right-hand bracelet for a ring*. We correspondently find, "upon rebuilding the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, by king Henry III.," that "the sepulchre of Sebert, king of the East-Angles, was opened, and therein was found part of his royal robes, and his *thumb-ring*, in which was set a ruby of great value." We also know "an alderman's *thumb-ring*" to have been an object familiar to the eyes of Shakespeare†. This practice continued among us long after the days of Shakespeare; an alderman's thumb-ring continuing to be noticed for its singularity, as late as the middle of the seventeenth century‡. But the Romans also placed the ring upon one of their *fingers*, the large

* Hist. Aug. Scriptores, 606. Capitolinus. "Pollice ita vasto, ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro annulo."

† Arch. iii. 390, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, and Shakespeare's Part 1st of Henry IV. act ii. scene iv. "When I was about thy years, Hal, I was not an eagle's talon in the waist; I could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring."

‡ "An alderman's thumb-ring is mentioned by Brome, in the *Antipodes*, 1640—; again in the *Northern Lass*, 1632—; again in *Wit in a Constable*, 1640." (Johnson's and Steevens's edition, 1793, vol. viii. 468.)

statues in bronze of emperors and empresses at Portici having each of them a ring upon the fourth finger§; and Pliny informing us, that “the custom was *originally* to wear it upon the finger *next to the least*, “as we see in the statues of Numa, and Servius Tullius*.” The custom of the kings was thus revived by the emperors, and continued very late. But, in the interval between the revived and the original custom, the ring was put by the Romans on the *fore-finger*; “the very “images of the gods,” says Pliny, “carrying it on the finger next to the “thumb†;” and a Roman monument remaining, in which a man appears actually putting a ring upon the fore-finger of a woman, in the act of marrying her‡. We accordingly use rings upon both these fingers at present. But we denominate the *fourth* particularly, just as the Romans and the Saxons did, the *ring-finger*, as being that on which the ring is placed in marriages§; while the native Britons, like the native Gauls, wore the ring upon the *middle* finger alone, the very finger which alone was excepted by the Romans||. Thus, in 1012, on removing the bones of Dunstan at Canterbury by four men who had been the depositors of his body before, in what is called a mausoleum, and who now opened it; “they found the bones more valuable than gold and “topazes, the flesh having been consumed by length of time, and recognised *that ring* put upon his *finger* when he was committed to the

§ “Les plus grandes statues en bronze à Portici, representent des empereurs et des impératrices, et il n’en est aucune qui ne soit audessus de la grandeur naturelle; mais—elles ne “presentent de remarquable, que *l’anneau placé au doigt annulaire* de la main droite de quelques-uns des empereurs.” Encyclopedie Methodique, dix-huitieme livraison, Antiquités, i. *Anneau. bague.* p. 184.

* Pliny, xxxiii. 1: “Singulis primò digitis geri mos fuerat, *qui sunt minimis proximi*; “sic in Numæ et Servii Tullii statuvis videmus.”

† Ibid. ibid. “Postea [digito] *pollici proximo* induère; etiam deorum simulachris.”

‡ Montfaucon, iii. part 1st, 11, 17. I refer to the translation by Humphreys, 1721, as more within the reach of a country clergyman’s purse, than the original, with its French and Latin expensively doubling one over the other. I so refer generally, though I occasionally cite the original as consulted by my friends for me.

§ Rubric to our marriage service directs the ring to be “put—upon the *fourth* finger “of the woman’s left hand.”

|| Pliny, xxxiii. 1: “Galliæ Britanniaëque in *medio* dicuntur usæ; *hic nunc solus ex-* “*cipitur.*”

“grave,

“grave, which he himself is reported to have made in his tender years*.” The bones were then transferred to Glastonbury, and 172 years afterward again found there; the explorers coming to “a *coffin of wood*, “bound firmly with iron at all the joints,” opening this, seeing the bones within, “with *his ring* upon a particular bone of his *finger*; and, to “take away all semblance of doubt, discovering his *picture* within the “coffin, the letter *S*, with a glory on the right side of the coffin, the “letter *D*, with a glory, on the left†.” The ring was put upon the finger of a bishop at his burial, because a bishop always wore a ring in his life; and because he wore it, as queen Elizabeth wore one through life with the same reference to her kingdom, in token of his marriage to his diocese. Thus, when Egelric, a monk of Peterborough, was made bishop of Durham, in 1048, and afterwards resigned his bishopric in favour of his cousin Agelwin, another monk of Peterborough; he is reported, by Ingulphus, to have “resigned up his *ring* to his cou- “sin‡.” Brithwold, who became bishop of Salisbury in 1045, is reported, in redeeming some lands from the crown for the abbey of Glastonbury, when a farthing (a fraction then much more valuable than now) was deficient “in the payment of the sum stipulated; to have magnifi- “cently thrown *his ring* into the mass, and to have shewn the devo- “tion which he had for the abbey, by exhibiting the workmanship upon “it§.” Bishop Ednod also is attested, “in the battle at Assandun,

* Malmesbury, Gale, i. 302: “Ossa Sancti Dunstani super aurum et topazium pretiosa, “reperiunt, carne tam diuturni temporis spatio resolutâ—. Annulum etiam digito Sancti “cùm sepulturæ traderetur impositum, quem et ipse ætate teneriori fecisse dicitur, recog- “noscunt.”

† Ibid. Gale, i. 304: “Locellum ligneum, ferreâ compagine undique consolidatum,— “aspiciunt—; thecam aperientes, sacratissimi beati Dunstani ossa reperiunt, simulque an- “nulum suum super quoddam os digiti—; et, ad omnem ambiguitatis nodum absolvendum, “picturam vident intrinsecus, et *S* cum titulo in dextrâ parte locelli, *D* cum titulo in sinistrâ.”

Joannes Glastoniensis, in his Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus, i. 145, Hearne, 1726, says: “ostenditur dictus annulus in thesaurariâ Glastoniæ, usque in hodiernum diem.”

John brings down his history to 1493. (i. 283.)

‡ Savile, 510: “Germano suo suum annulum resignavit.”

§ Malmesbury, Gale, i. 326: “Sicut dicunt, cùm de redemptione obolus deesset, vir “magnificus annulum suum creditoribus projiciens, devotionem quam in Glastoniam habe- “bat, operis testabatur exhibitione.”

“between king Edmund and Canute, to have been slain by the Danish soldiers of Canute, while he was chanting the mass; first his right hand,” that was lifted up in prayer, “being cut off *close to his ring*, and then his whole body mangled*.” All shews us what we should assuredly have met with in this episcopal grave, coffins of wood bound firmly at the joints with iron, and the bones of a bishop in each of them, *if* we had been searching within two hundred years after the burials; or, *perhaps*, a ring to every bishop, at the distance of time in which we explored the ground. This uncertain chance I willingly lost, however, in what I thought an honourable delicacy of respect to remains, which must have been disturbed by any farther inquisition. Content to have searched for the bones in some repository of a permanent nature; I desisted when I found there was none. Only I wish to observe at the close, that this cenotaph of the bishops concurs with the door, the stall, and the throne, to prove the whole church *an episcopal one*, at the very construction of it†.

Nor need we, with an antiquary’s imbecility of mind, to regret the loss of such a ring; because lord Eliot, the present proprietor of the abbey once annexed to this church, still preserves one in his possession. It was found in the earth some years before my search, when my lord was reconstructing the southern front of the abbey. It is of silver gilt, presenting the appearance of two hands joined, two thumbs attached

* Historia Eliensis, Gale, i. 497: “In bello quod fuit inter Ædmondum regem et Canutum apud Assandun, dum missam cantaret, à Danis Canuti sociis, prius dexterâ propter annulum amputatâ, deinde toto corpore scisso, interfectus est.” Mr. Bentham, in his account of Ely Cathedral, p. 89, renders the words “propter annulum” in this schoolboy manner; “for the sake of a ring:” as if his whole hand would be cut off, for the sake of what was upon his finger only. Mr. Bentham might as well have averred, that “his whole body was mangled for the sake of a ring.”

† Wharton’s Anglia Sacra, i. 632, 633. In 1190, “ad notitiam suam pervenit, et episcoporum cæterorum in festo suo apud Ely secum existentium,” on William Longchamp’s taking possession of his bishopric; “quod sepulchrum Galfridi prædecessoris sui fuit violatum, quoniam annulus pontificalis, quem sepulturæ traditus habuit in digito, fuerat latenter substractus. In pulpitem ascendentes episcopi violatores, tam facientes quàm consentientes, sub anathemate concluserunt.”

upon

upon one end of the rim, and the tips of the fingers coming up on the other. This has been therefore asserted by some antiquaries, particularly by the late Dean Milles, I understand, in the usual *largeness* of language (I believe) from antiquaries toward the rest of the world, to have been a parish wedding-ring; that, by which all couples were married, and of which, though there must necessarily have been one in every parish, only two or three are said to be preserved at present. Such a circumstance alone throws an air of gross suspectibility, over the whole; when so many thousand rings must have existed in the kingdom, yet so few are preserved; and when so many are preserved out of so few that belonged to kings or to bishops. But the fact is, that the existence of parish-rings (if ever supposed in reality) is all the dream of slumbering antiquarianism. Not a canon, not a rubric is to be found, commanding parishes to keep such rings. Even the very form of marriage, which was in the Sarum Liturgy before the Reformation, which is what was used over nearly the whole of England, over Wales, and over Ireland, long before, being composed by Osmond bishop of Sarum about the year 1080*, speaks directly to the contrary, and proves the wedding-rings to have been, as they now are, private property, or personal decorations. In this, there is a *formal benediction* of the ring at every marriage, before it is put upon the finger of the bride; an act superfluous to be done, and impossible to be ordered, if the same ring was always used. This benediction was made, in two supplications to God. The former of them runs thus, in English: "O Creator and
 " Preserver of the human race; Giver of spiritual grace; Bestower of
 " eternal salvation: do thou, O Lord, send thy blessing upon *this ring*,
 " that *she who shall wear it*, may be armed with the virtues of celestial
 " defence, and be sufficient for her own eternal salvation, through
 " Christ our Lord †." Here we see, that the bride was to carry away

* Knyghton, Twisden, c. 2351: "Composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii, quem
 " consuetudinarium vocant; quo ferè nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur, et Hibernia."

† Nichols on Common Prayer, 2d edition, 1712. Matrimony. "Creator et Con-
 " servator humani generis, Dator gratiæ spiritualis, Largitor æternæ salutis, tu, Domine,
 " mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum; ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata vir-
 " tute cœlestis defensionis, et sufficiat illi ad salutem æternam, per Christum Dominum
 " nostrum."

the ring with her after the service was finished, as she carries it at present; and was to wear it upon her finger for the rest of her life, just as at present she wears it. But the latter prayer runs thus: "O Lord Christ, bless *this ring*, which we bless in thy holy name, that *whatsoever woman shall bear it away* may be in thy peace, and remain in thy good-will, and in thy love live and grow, and go on to old age, and be continued for a length of days, through Jesus Christ our Lord †." So plainly was the ring borne away by the bride, that the prayers of benediction are both of them founded upon the fact, and in reality are benedictions upon the *bearer* only §. It was, indeed, from this very form of the bride's *not* putting on a ring for the short interval of the marriage-service, then resigning it up for the equally short use of the next bride; or, as must have been the case of numerous weddings in the same moments, of transferring the ring hastily from hand to hand, and never suffering it to rest at all upon any; but of the bridegroom's bringing his own ring, and of the bride's wearing it on her hand through life, as a part of her new property, or as an ensign of her new state; that bishops or kings came to have a ring put upon their hands, at taking possession of their offices; to wear the rings upon their hands, as equal ensigns of *their* marriage to their dioceses, or kingdoms; and even to wear them with such a rigid fidelity as to be buried with them.

† Nichols on Common Prayer, 2d edition, 1712. Matrimony. "Bene, Christe, dic, Domine, hunc annulum, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus, ut quæcunque eum portaverit tuâ pace consistat, et in tuâ voluntate permaneat, et in tuo amore vivat, et crescat, et senescat, et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum." The elision of *benedic* into *bene*, and *dic* with *Christe* interposed, is very extraordinary; but the application of an *accusative case* to the verb, however offensive to a classic ear, is common to this Latin prayer in the Sarum Liturgy; to the Latin graces at our colleges in Oxford, and to all the Latin of the middle ages. The famous tapestry of Bayeux in France, coæval with the Conquest, and relating an incident at it, says, "hîc episcopus potum et cibum benedicît." See it in p. 20 of Appendix to Anglo-Norman Antiquities, by Dr. Ducarel, 1767. Our forefathers were, much to their honour, careful to say grace at their meals; but even their bishops said it in false Latin.

§ The marriage-service also in the church of Rome to this day is so far the same exactly, that the officiating clergyman equally blesses the ring in a prayer, and that this prayer equally has the words, "quæ eum gestaverit" in it. See *Rituale Romanum*, Antverpiæ, 1669, p. 254, 255.

Yet let me note one circumstance more concerning lord Eliot's ring. The marriage-ring of the Romans was iron, as late as the days of Pliny*. But it became gold afterwards, even so long before the days of Tertullian, that he mistook the new custom for the old one, and thought the ring had always been made of gold†. It was equally made so among the Saxons, as the Saxon appellation for our ring-finger demonstrates at once, being simply *gold-fynger*. And from the Saxons has descended, in the mere course of traditionary practice, without any impulse from written authority, the plain gold ring of our marriages at present‡. In this view of the varying metal, the real marriage-rings appear to have been distinguished from the metaphorical, by one grand difference in the composition of them; *these* being formed only of silver gilt, while *those* were fabricated of gold§. What we should have found therefore, if we had ransacked the ground with a more irreverent curiosity, would have been one of those rings of silver gilt, a metaphorical ring of one of the bishops. Such a ring had been already presented to the eye of antiquarianism, without the irreverence, and by mere accident in lord Eliot's. Buried with the bishop to whom it belonged, and proving one bishop to have been buried *without* the church, it had mixed with the earth when his coffin was broken by accident, had been thrown with the removed earth to the surface, and was there picked up by the hand.

Such are the luminous evidences, that the church of St. German's bears in its bosom, of that cathedral dignity which it very anciently possessed

* Pliny, xxxiii. 1: "Etiam nunc sponsæ anulus ferreus mittitur."

† Tertullian Apol. c. vi.: "Circa feminas quidem etiam illa majorum instituta ceciderunt, quæ modestiæ, quæ sobrietati patrocinebantur; cum *aurum* nulla norat, præter *unico digito* quem *sponsus* oppignerasset *promulo annulo*."

‡ Among the Romans, even the iron ring of the bride was to be plain, "isque sine gemma." (Pliny, xxxiii. 1.)

§ The ring at first, according to that oracle of canon-law, Swinburne, was not of gold, but of iron, adorned with an adamant. Swinburne thus confounds the Romans with the Saxons, gives the iron ring to the Saxons when it belongs to the Romans only, yet seems not to have known at all of the gold ring among the Romans and Saxons, but has fixed a diamond in that iron ring of the Romans, which never had a gem in it, and which shews the gold ring to have equally had none.

over all Cornwall! Evidences they are, that, like a catoptric glass, at once receive, reflect, and redouble, the bright beams of the sun of history.

SECTION II.

IN the common mode, indeed, of estimating the age of buildings by the round or by the peaked arch, *that* prevailing a century below the Conquest, *this* commencing at the end of that; the cathedral dignity of our church *cannot be* very ancient, and we must reduce the origin of it considerably. The two external doors of the porch have both of them *peaked* arches, though the southern of them is but slightly peaked. The door into the church has a rounded arch; but in the tower the small arch, and the large one, are both *peaked*. The window over the porch, now blocked up, but apparent within the church, and more apparent without, is also *peaked*. The first window in the southern wall is rounded; the second very sharply *peaked*; the third more *peaked*; the fourth very slightly; the fifth very sharply, and exceedingly fretted in the stones of the compartments by age; the sixth, a very large one, is slightly *peaked* within, where the whole arch is seen, but is now formed without into two windows of moor-stone, while the other windows are of the same with the church, the stone of Tarton Down; and those consist each of three long, narrow, parallel compartments, with round heads to them. In the eastern wall are three windows, two below and one above; the two being at the sides of the throne, and the other merely modern in its fashion, a transome window in a wooden frame, denominated therefore the Presbyterian window by some, but very recently altered back into a form of antiquity by lord Eliot, from some remains found in the ruins of that chancel, which I shall speedily notice. Both the windows at the sides of the throne are sharply *peaked*. The chaplain's stall is sharply peaked also, and the bishop's doorway is *peaked* a little. All these peaks in the arches should tell us, according to the received opinions, what the tenor of the whole building absolutely denies. Those opinions let *him* announce, who is the latest writer upon the subject, I think; who has

4

been

been raised into reputation by the credit of having received some notices from Mr. Gray, that were apparently of no great moment in themselves, and only the same in consequence as what were supplied by others*; who had not vigour of intellect enough to think freely for himself, and is only pacing, we may therefore be sure, in the very harness or with the very bells of the common stagers on the road. “It is proper to observe,” Mr. Bentham tells us in his History of Ely Cathedral, “that the general plan and disposition of all the principal parts, in the latter Saxon and earliest Norman churches, was the same—; the arches and heads of the doors and windows were all of them circular †.” In “the works of the Normans,” he adds at another place, the “pillars were connected together by various arches, all of them circular ‡.” And “I think we may venture to say,” he subjoins at a third, “that the circular arch, round-headed doors and windows,—were universally used by them to the end of king Henry the First’s reign §.” But these opinions, however received commonly, however echoed backwards and forwards by our antiquaries, are all false in themselves, refuted at once by the aspect of this very church, and doubly refuted by a variety of other buildings ||.

* “My grateful acknowledgments,” says Mr. Bentham himself in his preface, p. iii. “are due to the Rev. Mr. Cole of Milton near Cambridge, to the Rev. Mr. Warren, prebendary of Ely, and to Thomas Gray, Esq. of Pembroke-hall, for their kind assistance in several points of curious antiquities, to the Rev. Mr. Hughes,” &c. Yet Mr. Mason led the way to that error, as in his Memoirs of Gray, 340, he alleges, on the authority of this acknowledgment, that Mr. Bentham’s remarks—convey many sentiments of Mr. “Gray.”

† Bentham, 32.

‡ Ibid. 33.

§ Ibid. 34.

|| From Mr. Bentham’s acknowledgment concerning Mr. Gray we find, that the sentiments of the latter upon the origin of the peaked arch were in general unison with those of the former. Accordingly we hear Mr. Gray himself, p. 295, saying, “the vaults under the choir” of York Minster “are truly Saxon, only that the arches are pointed, though very obtusely;” p. 296, adding, “in the beginning of Henry the III’d’s reign—all at once come in the tall picked arches;” and p. 295, declaring, “in this reign it was, that the beauty of the Gothic architecture began to appear:” Mr. Gray however, though Mr. Mason totally overlooks the circumstance, varies much from Mr. Bentham in the reign assigned; Mr. Gray specifying the third Henry’s reign, and Mr. Bentham the first.

“About the year of Christ 132,” remarks an author very happily and very judiciously, amid many assertions ingenious but arbitrary, and some conclusions refined but erroneous, “Antinous, the favourite of the emperor Adrian, was drowned in the Nile. This prince, to perpetuate his memory, founded a city in Egypt” at the point of the Nile where he was drowned, “and called it after his name.” As this incident is the foundation of the whole reasoning, I here establish it upon the authority of Dio, who says Adrian “re-erected in Egypt that city, which “was denominated from Antinous*,” and again, upon the better testimony of a writer nearly cotemporary with Adrian, who adds that Adrian “built the city bearing Antinous’s appellation†.” This city is mentioned by Ptolemy as Αντινοῦς Πολις, or Antinopolis, the capital of a district lying along the eastern bank‡; and has transmitted its remains under the title of Ensineh to the present times§. “*Pere Bernat made drawings of its ruins*, which are in the third tome of Montfaucon’s *Antiquities*; among *them is the pointed arch*,” in a fine old gateway, formed after the usual fashion of triumphal arches among the Romans, as having one lofty avenue through it in the centre, and a lower upon each side, but terminating all three in a *peaked* arch above. This, however, is “not perfectly Gothic, but that called *constrasted*,” and very sharp in the peak||. See the plate here. “*Another constrasted arch* appears in

* Dio, lxi. 1159, Reimar: Εν δε τῷ Αἰγυπτῷ καὶ τὴν Αντινοῦς ἀνομασμένην ἀνωκοδομησε πολιν.

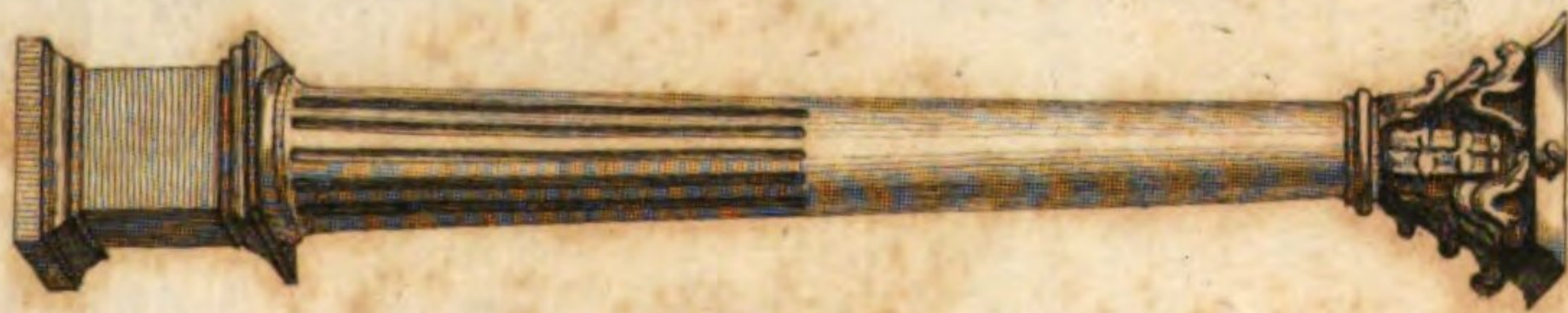
† Eusebius Eccl. Hist. iv. 8, Reading, Πολιν-ἐκλεσεν επωνυμιον Αντινοῦς, from Hegesippus.

‡ Ptolemy, iv. 5, p. 121, Bertius.

§ Pococke, i. 73.

|| Rev. Mr. Ledwich of Dublin, in *Archæologia*, viii. 192. The reference to Montfaucon *should be*, as Mr. Ledwich very obligingly informed me by letter in answering my inquiry, to the third tome of the *Supplement*, p. 55, page 156, Paris, 1724; there we have this description in Latin: “Porta illa quæ ad meridiem respicit, quæque in tabulâ sequenti repræsentatur,” and thence copied in the plate here, “est quasi triumphalis arcus, in quo tres amplæ sunt portæ fornicibus instructæ. Media autem porta latitudine viginti duos pedes habet, altitudine quadraginta. Duabus porro ligneis foribus ferro opertis claudebatur, quæ inferiori ævo Cairum translatae sunt, ut fornicem quemdam obstruerent, dictum BAB EZ-ZOUAILE, propè ædes magni præpositi. Ambæ verò portæ a lateribus altitudinem habent viginti quatuor circiter pedum, latitudinem decem vel duodecim pedum; supra illas autem minores januas, visitur ceu fenestra quædam quadrata, quæ latitudine portas inferiùs posi-

A ROMAN GATEWAY at ANTINOPOLIS in EGYPT.





“ in the *Syriac M. S.*” of the Evangelists at Florence, written A.D. 586, and full of pictures exhibited in twenty-six leaves*. And “ in a very curious manuscript which I was once favoured with a sight of,” says another writer who happily harmonizes with both these evidences before, a manuscript “ containing an account of the late earl of Strathmore’s travels through Spain, mention is made of a singularity ; for in the aqueduct near Segovia, which was undoubtedly built in the time of *Trajan*,” an emperor, the immediate successor of Adrian, “ *there are some pointed arches* †.”

“ In Horsley,” adds Mr. Ledwich, “ are *Roman sepulchral stones* with *pointed arches*.” In this vague mode of reference, which is becoming so indolently fashionable, yet is so thoroughly incompatible with the purpose of proving in contradiction to popular opinions, Mr. Ledwich appeals to no stone in particular. But there are no less than eleven in Horsley, No. 33 of Scotland, No. 90 of Northumberland, and No. 39, 71, 75, of Cumberland, No. 7 of Yorkshire, No. 1 of Lincolnshire, No. 11, 319, of Somersetshire, and No. 1 of Middlesex ; all sepulchral. There is also a monument with a pointed arch, No. 1 of Scotland, in-

“ *tas non exæquat. Totius porrò ædificiî latitudo est sexaginta sex circiter pedum, profunditas autem quindecim aut viginti, altitudo quadraginta quinque. Duæ facies octo parastatis Corinthiis exornantur, a medio ad basim usque striatis. Capitellorum anguli usque adeo erumpunt et extenduntur, ut hinc occasione sumptâ Arabes seu Mauri illam portam vocaverint Abou el Queroun, sive Portam Cornuum. E regione illarum octo parastarum, quinque sexve passibus intercedentibus, octo columnæ erant Corinthiæ ex candido lapide erectæ, quatuor pedibus columna sola alta erat. Unaquæque columna ex quinque lapidibus erat, striataque ab imâ parte adusque medium. A temporum injuriâ illæsæ manserunt duæ columnæ, stylobatis suis insistentes ; quæ urbem respiciunt. Duæ aliæ plusquam mediâ sui parte sunt dirutæ. Earum verò quæ agros respiciunt, quæque notantur, ne rudera quidem comparent.*” I have left a blank above for a word evidently deficient. The French has the same deficiency, “ huit colonnes Corinthiennes de pierre blanche avoient été élevées de quatre pieds de fust.” But a note adds thus, “ Il y a une faute d’impression dans l’original.”

* See Mr. Ledwich in Arch. 170, for the date of this MS. There he has also delineated to us four of the arches in that MS., but has omitted the constricted arch.

† Arch. iv. 410.

scribed

scribed to Titus Ælius Hadrianus; having on it “a pediment supported by *two Corinthian pilasters channelled*,” seeming therefore to coincide strikingly in form and in time, with what Montfaucon’s author notices, “the Corinthian pilasters striated” in the ruins of Adrian’s Antinopolis*. But the inscription at full length is to Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, and is commemorative of the wall erected in his reign between the friths of Forth and Clyde†. We have likewise the goddess Minerva sculptured upon a rock near Chester, with a canopy of a pointed arch over her head‡. Yet on these instances, however numerous, we can hardly ground any reasonings concerning the use of the pointed arch in buildings here. But we have one stone in Horsley, which exhibits the pointed arch in so regular a form of an arch, and with accompaniments so purely Gothic in their very aspect, as arrested my eye more than thirty years ago, as must arrest every eye that views it, and loudly tells what so many years ago I resolved some time or other to proclaim from it, the use of the pointed arch in the Roman buildings of Britain. It is his No. 14 of Scotland. “This is,” says Horsley, a “sepulchral monument, but imperfect. It still remains at Skirvay, about a mile and a half west from Kilsyth,—dug up at a place a little east from this house, I suppose at Barhill Fort, or near it,” upon Antoninus’s wall. “The name of the person for whom it was erected, was Verecundus, who probably died young; and therefore the stone is adorned with a garland—. *The shape of the stone at top is somewhat peculiar—§.*” So little did the sight of the original, so little did the very delineation of it, carry to the mind of this excellent antiquary, what it so obviously carries to every reflecting mind, the impression of an arch truly Gothic upon a monument certainly Roman; that he only noticed something peculiar, in the shape of

* Horsley, 194; and Mountfaucon’s Supplement, iii. 156: “*Parastratis Corinthiis exornantur, a medio ad basim usque striatis.*”

† The inscription is this: “Imperatorī Cæsari Tito Ælio Hadriano Antonino Augusto Pio, patri patriæ, vexillatio legionis vicesimæ Valentis victricis fecit per passus quater mille quadringentos undecim.” The stone “belongs to the first fort that has been at the west end of the wall, near Old Kirkpatrick.” (Horsley, 194.)

‡ Horsley, No. 4, Cheshire, and p. 316.

§ Horsley, 199, and 198.

the stone at top ! The strongest light of evidence shines in vain upon any mind, that is not in the general habit of opening its eyes to evidence, and is not also disposed by some previous considerations, to receive the particular evidence at the moment.

The arch here is equally regular and sharp, consisting of three ribs united, all curving into one peak above, and all sweeping downwards from it in one pillar upon each side. The whole, indeed, is drawn upon a small scale, because the confined space of a gravestone made this necessary : yet the whole is exhibited in so full a proportion, and has been preserved in such a state of integrity, that we see it in all its principal parts completely. Only the legs of the pillars have been abridged a little of their length, by a piece of the stone having been broken off at the bottom, and carrying away the rest of the inscription with it. The interval between the legs is filled up with D. M. for *Dís Manibus* in one line ; with the personal name of VEREC, in a second ; and with the continuation of it CVNDAE, in a third *. The person therefore is not a man, but a woman. The reference to the *Di Manes*, however, seems to mark Verecunda as a Heathen ; yet there are signatures upon the stone that point her out for a Christian. There is a garland engraved upon it, as there equally is upon another gravestone found at the same place †. Nor is there one gravestone more among all the monuments in Horsley, charged with a garland. Christianity, indeed, has alone found out the happy art, of taking away the natural mournfulness of death in general, of turning it into a ground of triumph, and of crowning the gravestones of its professors with the garlands of victory. Accordingly we find upon the accompanying stone, even in Horsley's description of it, “ a garland, two branches, probably of “ cypress, and *two globes quartered* ‡,” or, as the eye tells us at once, *two crosses*, one upon each side of the *upper* part of the garland, and the cypress branches on each side of the *lower*, significant emblems of the tri-

* Gough's *Britannia*, iii. plate xxv. p. 359.

† Horsley, No. 13 of Scotland ; and Gough, plate xxiv. p. 358. The inscription upon this is, “ D. M. Salman.” in Horsley ; but in Gough, “ D. M. Salmanes.”

‡ Horsley, 199, No. 12 of Scotland.

umph of Christianity over nature *. Just so we find on *this* gravestone, a garland directly under the peak of the arch, and a cross a little higher upon each side of it. The cross *preceding* is formed only of two lines, cutting each other obliquely, yet equidistantly; but the cross on *this* is a more formal one, composed of two lines cutting each other at right angles, and of a third cutting both obliquely at their point of contact †. The person thus buried appears to have been equally a woman, with the person under the preceding gravestone; VERECUNDA and SALMANE forming the two first Christians, that we know by name to have existed in Roman Britain; both women, both buried at the same place, and both bearing crosses on their gravestones; the female sex, let me say from the full conviction of my mind, having in all ages shewn more of religiousness than our own, more of the soft sensibilities of feeling, and therefore more of propensity to a devoutness of soul, to an awful consideration of the world of spirits, or to a solemn reverence for the Father of spirits ‡.

* Such a cross is on monuments confessedly Christian, in Leland's Itin. ii. 125.

† Mr. Gough having given us draughts of these two monuments, a little different from Horsley's in the crosses, I have formed my description from both. But see another cross, described in iii. 3, hereafter.

‡ Leland De Script. Brit. 17, 18; Usher, 5; Stillingfleet in Origines Britannicæ, 43, 44; and Carte, i. 134, believe the Claudia of 2 Tim. iv. 21, to be the Claudia Rufina of Martial, iv. 33, xi. 54; and Carte supposes the latter, who was certainly a Briton, to be the daughter of king Cogidunus (surnamed Claudius upon a monument) in Britain. These also believe Pomponia Græcina, that wife of A. Plautius, proprætor of Britain, who is so strikingly to the eye of a Christian delineated, as "*insignis femina,—superstitionis externæ rea,*" to whom "*longa—ætas et continua tristitia fuit*" (Tacitus Ann. xiii. 34), to have been a Christian. *This* is assuredly true, but *that* certainly false. The very praises of Rufina by Martial prove her to be no Christian: and Græcina is a woman, as far as we can judge, purely Roman, a native of Rome, even a resident of Rome only. But let me remark in a strain of Christian triumph, upon the character of Græcina as a Christian, how little Tacitus thought when he drew the character, that he was delineating one who had dignity of mind to embrace a religion in the first moments of its appearance, and had fortitude of spirit to profess a religion under every discouragement from the world, which, however it might appear to some grovelling souls, the mere politicians of earth, and the liminary intelligences of this petty orb, did yet open the vast scenes of eternity to our views, present the interminable happiness of them to our hopes, and provide even miraculous assistance in grace for our acquirement of their happiness; thus uniting heaven and earth in one chain of blissful religiousness, and calling down the lustre of that by anticipation to gild the gloom of this.

The

The Roman Verecunda, indeed, appears from all to have been buried at a church within, and under an arch of it, that had just such a pointed curve as this. Those stood, in all probability, at KILSYTH itself, as the stone is now at Skirway, about a mile and a half *west* from Kilsyth; as it is known to have been found at a place a little *east* from Skirway; and as the British name of *Kilsyth*, so analogous to the names of Irish cathedrals, or Highland churches at present; Kil-kenny, Kil-laloe, or Kil-fenora, Kill-chollim kill, Kil-chovan, Kill-chiaran, or Kill-han Alen, in the single isle of Jura, proves *a cell of peace* to have been erected there for a church in the time of the Britons*. It was erected there in that mixed interval of time, when Christianity began to impress her victorious banner the cross upon her gravestones, even to erect churches for the public devotions of her disciples; when burials began to be made within her very churches†; and when the heathen style of funeral inscriptions, in its best meaning (as here) of reference to the ghost of the deceased‡, was yet retained upon her graves. Such an interval it is religiously pleasing to observe, in the private history of Rome, but at a period a little later than our own. Then, as Zosimus the *heathen* tells us about the year 394, “when Theodosius the elder—came to Rome, and infused into all ranks a contempt for the sacred worship of heathenism, refusing to supply the sums for the sacrifices out of the treasury; the priests and priestesses were driven away, and the temples were deprived of all service. Then, therefore, in a ridicule of them, Serena,” the daughter of Theodosius, and the consort of Stilicho, “desired to look into” a temple situated upon mount Palatine, “the temple of the mother of the gods,” Cybele aliàs Rhea; “and beholding upon the statue of Rhea encircling the neck of it, an ornament worthy of the divine worship paid her, she took it off from the statue,

* *Cill* (I.) is a cell or a church, and *Sith* (I.) is peace. See Martin, 243; and *I-columkill* is merely the isle of Columbus’s church, p. 256.

† Breval’s First Travels, ii. 324: “The following Christian monument of great antiquity,” is “in one of the arches of the great church” at Bria in Portugal, “*A. W. Severus Presbit. famulus Christi, vixit ann. LV., requievit in pace Domini xi. Kal. Novemb. era DCXXII.*”

‡ Horsley, 199.

“and put it round her own neck. And when one of the vestal virgins,” *not* (as we suppose at first) one from the temple of Vesta in the adjoining parts of the Forum, *but* an actual priestess of Cybele, occasionally considered by the Romans as a vestal too, “one that had been “left” out of the priestesses of this very temple, “and who was now “grown old,” *the last vestal that is mentioned in the history of Rome*, “reproached her to her face for the impiety; Serena treated her with “injurious language, and ordered her attendants to turn her out of the “temple. The woman, as she was going down the steps, imprecated “every evil that such impiety deserved, to fall on Serena, her husband, “and her children. But Serena, taking no account of her imprecations, “retired out of the temple afterwards, decorated with the ornament §.” In such just contempt was the mighty mother held by the rising spirit of Christianity, as to have her temple deserted by all her worshippers, to retain only one old priestess in attendance upon a service no longer performed, and to have her very image, solitary as it stood in the locked-up fane, even stripped of its necklace by a visiting princess for an ornament to her own neck; or, as Jerome, a *Christian*, more comprehensively, and therefore more significantly, says about the same period, “the gilded Capitol is now squalid; all the temples of Rome are “covered with smoke,” from the sacrifices, “and with cobwebs,” from the neglect; “the whole city is moved from its foundations; and the “crowds, that used to flow in tides to the altars, half-overset at present,

§ Zosimus, v. 351, Oxon, 1679: Οἱ Θεοδοσίος ὁ πρεσβύτερος—τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγνείας ἐνέποιησε πᾶσιν ὀλιγωρίαν, τὴν δημοσίαν δαπάνην τοῖς ἱεροῖς χορηγῶν ἀρτισταμένους, ἀπελαυνούσῳ μὲν ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖαι, κατελιμπανέῳ δὲ πᾶσις ἱεργίας τὰ τέμενα. τότε τοίνυν ἐπεγέλωσα τέλοισι, ἡ Σερίνα τὸ Μελῶν ἰδεῖν ἐβόληθη. Δεασαμένη δὲ τῇ τῆς Ρεῖας ἀγαλματι, περικείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ τραχηλῇ, κόσμον τῆς θεῆας ἐκείνης ἀξίον ἀγνείας περιέλωσα τῷ ἀγαλματι, τῷ αὐτῇ ἐπιθήκεν τραχήλῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ πρεσβυτίς ἐκ τῶν Ἑσθιακῶν περιελελειμμένη Παρθένον, ὠνειδίσαν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτὴν προσώπον τὴν ἀσέβειαν, περιεβρίβε τε, καὶ ἀπελαυνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπομένων ἐκέλευσεν. ἡ δὲ, καλίσσα, πᾶν ὅτι ταύτης ἀξίον τῆς ἀσέβειας, εἶθιεν αὐτὴ Σερίνα, καὶ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τέκνοισι, ἡρσάλο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡδύος τέλων ποιήσασα μὲν λόγον, ἀνεχώρει τοῦ τέμενος, ἐγκαλλωπιζομένη τῷ κόσμῳ. In Montfaucon's *Ant. Expl.* i. ii. 6. we have the lions of Cybele with the figure of Vesta upon a lamp, and a statue of Vesta with the towers of Cybele on her head. Cybele and Vesta were considered equally as the earth, and had, therefore, an inter-communion of attributes, as well as appellations. So confounded was the very theology of heathenism, in its very ideas of its gods! From this temple on mount Palatine, Cybele is called “Palatina” in an ancient inscription; a circumstance that has escaped Montfaucon in i. 1, 4. See also v. pt. 2d, ii. 4.

“run

“run to the [churches containing the] tombs of the martyrs*.” In this period of struggle between Christianity and heathenism, between the good sense of Heaven and the nonsense of earth; when the eagle of Heaven, as in one of Virgil’s similes, had seized the serpent of earth, had infolded it with his feet, and pierced it with his talons, had seen it writhing in its wounds, and heard it hissing with its mouth, to fix its deadly fangs upon him, but had pressed it the more severely with his beak to subdue it completely, and at last was beating the air in triumph with his pinions†; the adoption of D. M. upon monuments plainly Christian, appears very manifest‡.

* Hieron. Epist. ad Lætam, Opera Omnia, edit. Francof. i. 35: “Auratum squallet Capitolium, fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romæ templa co-operta sunt, movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyram tumulos.”

† Æneid xi. 751, judiciously varied from Iliad xii. 200.

Utque volans alte, raptum cùm fulva draconem
Fert aquila, implicuitque pedes, atque unguibus hæsit;
Saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat,
Arrectisque horret squamis, et sibilat ore,
Arduus insurgens; illa haud minùs urget adunco
Luctantem rostro, simul æthera verberat alis.
Haud aliter prædam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon
Portat ovans.

‡ Mabillon, in *Iter Italicum*, 73; 136, notices two funeral inscriptions from Fabretti, “una cujusdam martyris epitaphium—lapidi marmoreo inscriptum, habens *ex alterâ parte* fragmentum sodalitii Paganorum sub deo Silvano,” saying there are many such in Rome; “altera inscriptio—solemnem Paganorum *diis manibus* dicationem, *etsi hominis sit Christiani*, exhibet.” The Pagan and Christian parts are these, “D. Ma. Sacrum,” and “In pacem cum Spirita [Spiritu] Sancta [Sancto] acceptum.” He also mentions another, as “apud Smetium,” with “D. M.” and “Bonæ Memoræ” upon *one* side, and Alpha, Omega, on *the other*. But such inscriptions prove nothing for our present point. Fleetwood, however, in his “*Inscriptionum Sylloge*, London, 1691,” p. 345, gives us one that is plainly Pagan and plainly Christian at once: “D. M. Aurelio Balbo vitæ integerrimo moribusque ornato, qui se, *quietioris perfectiorisque vitæ desiderio*, ex negotiis civilibus in quibus fuerat cum laude versatus, *Jovis Op. Ma. beneficio*, ducto, hic *in spe resurrectionis* quiescenti, locus publicè datus est.” In p. 450, he mentions another, “D. M. S. Filio dulcissimo Niceroti parentes fecerunt *in Deo*.” In p. 502, he cites a third, “D. M. . . . Januarius Exorcista sibi et conjugi fecit.”

“One example,” subjoins Mr. Ledwich very justly, concerning peaked arches, “and there must have been many now fallen a prey to the ravages of time, *would have been sufficient to have proved their existence and use**.” But, in order to preclude the necessity for such an appeal, however just, to these instances let me add another: in that church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the empress Helena built with so much magnificence at Jerusalem, which every Christian of sensibility contemplates there with so deep a reverence of soul at present, and in the very chapel over that “holy cave, which she decorated first of all, as, “in some measure, the head of all†;” amid the round arches that appear on every side of the church, that particularly support the dome over the sepulchre and its chapel, we see the doorway into the chapel a tall arch *peaked*, and *sharply peaked* too‡. The peaked arch, therefore, appears demonstrably to have been introduced among the Romans, however it has been denominated Gothic. It was used by an empress at Jerusalem, in her glorious zeal for the new religion of Christianity, though at the declension of Roman architecture. It was also used by an emperor in Spain two ages before, in all the splendour of that architecture. It was again used by a prior emperor in Egypt, but still under all the splendour of that architecture, and with all his idolatrous extravagance of respect for a deceased favourite; and it was finally used so much in our Roman-British churches, even within the distant region of the farther wall, but about the very period of the empress’s use of it at Jerusalem; when, as Gildas tells us expressly of the British Christians, “they renew their churches that had been thrown to the very ground; “they found, raise, and finish grand churches in honour of the holy “martyrs, and every where display (as it were) their victorious ensigns§,”

* Arch. viii. 193.

† Eusebius in Vitâ Constant. iii. 33, Reading, i. 597: *Τὴν πάλιν ὡς τὴν κεφαλὴν, πρῶτον πάντων ἱερῶν ἀνέγειν ἐκοσμήσατο.*

‡ Pococke, ii. part 1st, p. 16, plate iv. No. D.

§ Gildas, c. viii. “Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum “martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt; ac velut victricia signa passim propulant.” For my interpretation of *basilicæ*, see Eddius, c. xvi. in Gale, i. 59; where we have the old cathedral of York, that was built by Paulinus at the conversion of Edwin, called “basilica,” or “basilica oratorii Dei;” and where we have also the old church at Rippon equally denominated a “basilica.”

as to be delineated upon a Roman gravestone there, exactly like one of our cathedral arches at present.

But let us push the point of our argument still farther in Britain. We have a church remaining to this day at Canterbury, which we know to have been built by the Romans, and see to have pointed arches. "There was," says Bede concerning the arrival of Augustin at Canterbury in 597, "near the very city, upon the eastern side of it, a church built in those former times, in which *the Romans yet inhabited Britain*, and then dedicated to the honour of St. Martin; in which that queen" of Ethelbert, king of Kent, "whom we have previously noticed to have been a Christian, used to offer up her devotions," together with her Christian attendants, under the ministry of the bishop, her chaplain*. "In this, therefore, they themselves," Augustin and his colleagues, "began at first to assemble, to sing, to pray, to consecrate the eucharist, to preach, and to baptize†." This church is (as it were) miraculously preserved, like our own at St. German's, to the present moment. In the middle of it is a font very large, carrying a venerable face of antiquity in its form, and, from the *whispers* of a tradition that hardly presumes to use a bolder tone, supposed to have been the very font in which they thus baptized some of the king's subjects, yea even finally baptized the king himself‡. The church also is half-buried in the soil thrown up by the hand of time against it; the two doorways on the south, one into the chancel, the other into the body of the church, having the ground before them raised more than half way up to the crowns of their arches. Its walls, too, exhibit those sure signatures of Roman architecture,

* Bede, i. 25: "Quam eâ conditione à parentibus acceperat, ut ritum fidei ac religionis suæ cum episcopo quem ei adiutorem fidei dederant, nomine Liudhordo, inviolatum servare licentiam haberet."

† Bede, i. 26: "Erat autem prope ipsam civitatem, ad orientem, ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent; in quâ regina, quam Christianam fuisse prædiximus, orare consueverat: in hâc ergo et ipsi primò convenire, psallere, orare, missas facere, prædicare, et baptizare cœperunt, donec," &c.

‡ Bede, i. 26: "Donec, rege ad fidem converso, majorem," &c. "ipse etiam inter alios credens baptizatus est."

Roman bricks used in their composition; not used only here and there in the composition, as the relics of some former building, but used regularly in courses throughout the whole, except only where the hand of reparation has been busy in two places, and not merely in the chancel, but in the body; used too in both with such an uniform poverty of style, as proves both to have been of one age and one hand, a mere country-chapel of the christianized Romans. Yet, in this very chapel, we have the two doorways *roundly* arched, and *the windows* all arched in *peaks*; one in a repaired part near the western end, small, narrow, and modern; another about the middle, taller, wider, and ancient; a third at the west end of the chancel, tall, narrow, and modern, but having close to it on the east the plain traces of another, now closed up and shortened in repairing this part of the church, with a fifth near the eastern end, large, wide, and ancient; yet all of them *peaked*, the ancient less sharply than the modern, but still *peaked* §. Here, then, we have a building under our own hands, as it were, proved historically by our domestic records to be a work of the Romans, yet exhibiting to the very eyes of the present generation, at the very metropolis ecclesiastical of all the kingdom, the peaked arch in its windows with the round arch in its doorways. Such critics, however, as love to shew their sagacity in their scruples, to display their force in their feebleness, and to entangle themselves like flies in the slightest cobweb, will object to the identity of the present building with the building raised by the Romans. But the objection is a cobweb too slight to catch any except the feeblest of flies. The difference of the present structure from the Roman, is not to be *suggested* only. It must be *proved*, before it can be admitted. The fair presumption of reasoning is always in favour of possession. The contrary is therefore to be shewn; yet it cannot be shewn here. The identity stands evident, upon every circumstance of the building; and history unites with aspect, to proclaim it a Roman construction. We thus see the Romans discovering their use of the peaked arch in their buildings, not merely at the distance of Antinopolis, or Jerusalem,

§ Somner's Canterbury by Battely, part 1st, p. 34; part 2d, p. 175, 176; Stukeley's Itin. 117; and Gostling's Walk in and about Canterbury, edition 2d, 1777, 24-26; with plate 48 of Stukeley.

or even Spain from us, but in our own island, in the south of it, in the very province of passage between it and the continent; even there, not merely in a delineation of a single church-arch upon a single gravestone, but in real arches, in several arches, in all united into a church existing at this moment*.

* I have not produced another argument from a building bearing the same aspect as St. Martin's, because it has not a purely historical authority for its construction by the Romans. Yet it was so constructed, I am firmly persuaded. For this it carries the authority of that tradition, which is little less than history; is oral history instead of written, is much more liable, therefore, to be corrupted, yet is history still. "Erat autem," says Thorne, from this lower kind of history, "non longè ab ipsâ civitate ad orientem, medio itinere inter ecclesiam Sancti Martini et muros civitatis, phanum sive ydolum situm, ubi rex Ethelbertus secundum ritum gentis suæ solebat orare, et cum nobilibus suis dæmoniis et non Deo sacrificare; quod fanum Augustinus ab inquinamentis et sordibus gentilium purgavit, et, simulachro quod in eâ [eo] erat confracto, synagogam [diaboli] mutavit in ecclesiam [Dei], et eam in nomine Sancti Pancrasii Martyris dedicavit; et hæc est prima ecclesia ab Augustino dedicata." (Twisden, 1760.) Nor is this relation at all contradictory, as Somner pretends it is, to the narrative of Bede; Thorne not alleging, as Somner represents him to allege, that this was the first church in which Augustine celebrated mass, St. Martin's being certainly the first, but the first which he dedicated, because it was dedicated before St. Saviour's. "I will grant," adds Somner, with great ingenuousness, "that a chapel of that name, of no small antiquity, there *was* sometime standing, where *a good part of her ruins are yet left*, built almost wholly of Briton or Roman," that is, of Roman-British, "brick, infallible remains of antiquity." (Ibid. ibid.) "Without the town," remarks Leland, "at S. Pancrace's chapel and at S. Martine's, appere Briton bricks." (Itin. vii. 145.) There are, as Stukeley notes in Itin. Cur. i. 123, "the walls of a chapel said to have been a Christian," a heathen, "temple before St. Augustine's time, and re-consecrated by him to St. Pancras. A great apple-tree, and some plum-trees, now grow in it. The lower part of it is really old, and mostly made of Roman brick, and thicker walls, as all substructions are, than the superstructure. There's an old Roman arch in the south-side toward the altar, the top of it about as high as one's nose, so that the ground has been much raised. The present east window is a POINTED arch, though made of Roman brick—. Near it, a little room said to have been king Ethelbert's Pagan chapel. However it be, both these, and the wall adjoining, are mostly built of Roman brick; the bredth of the mortar is rather more than the bricks, and full of pebbels," as Roman mortar always is. The larger building, therefore, was the Pagan temple, and the lesser near the east window was the royal closet of Ethelbert, the Saxon king of Kent, and of the British kings before him, during the reign of heathenism. Yet the east window, though visibly Roman with all the parts in general, the upper as well as the lower, and though apparently Roman in itself, too, as "made of Roman brick"

In that manner being begun among the Romans, in that being diffused along Roman Judæa, Roman Egypt, Roman Spain, and Roman Britain; the peaked arch went on of course through those ages, which succeeded the fall of the Roman empire, which are with a peculiar propriety denominated the GOTHIC, and have ignorantly been made to father it by giving it *their* appellation: yet the respectable author so much cited before, Mr. Ledwich, does not allow it to have thus gone on. No! he breaks the thread of continuance short at once. From the monuments urged by himself, specifically at Antinopolis, and generally in Britain, he infers only—what?—"the probability of their serving as models, *after a lapse of years, for a new style**," *alter et idem!* But *when* does he suppose this *new-old* style to have begun? It "seems," he says, "to have begun about A. D. 1000." Yet he instantly adds what proves it to have begun *before*, and what is of great moment in our present inquiry. "The arches of churches on the coins of Berengarius, king of Italy," who became king as early as 888, "and Lewis the Pious," who became emperor in 814; "and those in the Menologium Græcum, Urbini, 1727; "shew the *strait arch* was in use in the *ninth* and *tenth* centuries," consequently *one or two centuries* before A. D. 1000, or the commencement of the *eleventh* century. Thus does the continuation of the arch from the Romans become more apparent, especially as Italy was the scene of some of these constructions upon coins. "On a coin of *Edward the Confessor*, in Camden, is a *pointed arch*; the church there is supposed to be that of Bury St. Edmund, repaired by him," who came to the "brick" entirely, shews even to this day a POINTED arch. Nor let us leave these two buildings so totally undistinguished as they are left by the antiquaries of Canterbury, so confounded by Stukeley, and so unappropriated by all, without producing a testimony for their connexion that lies obvious on the page of Somner. "Hamond Beale," he cries, considering it only to perplex himself, and to make him answer as Thorne's what is merely this Hamond's, "—anno 1492 gives by his will to the reparation of *Saint Pancrace his chapel* within the precinct of St. Augustin's churchyard, and of the chapel where St. Augustin" is falsely said to have "*first celebrated mass* in England, *annexed to the former*, 3l. 6s. 8d." (Somner, *ibid.*) I thus do what the local antiquaries were not able to do, explain their own remains, vindicate their own traditions, and discover another arch of a pointed form among the Romans of their own city.

* Arch. viii. 193.

throne in 1041-1042†. “As all our ancient historians resent his attachment to the Normans, among whom he was educated; it is likely he saw this new arch upon the continent, and introduced it into his works: it must therefore be earlier there than the date of its adoption here, and may be of the age before assigned for its revival‡.” This very ingenious and very learned author has already shewn, that “the straight arch was in use” on the continent, “in the ninth and tenth centuries;” and, as to the island, in his reference to “Roman sepulchral stones with pointed arches” in Horsley, which are all *British*, has said “one example—would have been sufficient to have proved their existence and use” in Britain. I have also proved by a specific example in Judæa, by a second in Spain, and by a third in Britain, “their existence and use” throughout the whole empire of Rome. Yet now Mr. Ledwich, unconscious indeed of some of these facts, is for burying both the British and the foreign *gothicism* of arches in the grave of time, merely—that he may raise it to life again. But an order of architecture, once lost, is as little likely to have been recovered in *those ages of barbarism*; as the soul, if once laid to sleep with the body by the hand of death, according to the wild fancies of some that it will be, is to be awakened again: the revival of either must be an actual creation of it. The soul therefore, lapped up in its own immortality as armour of proof against the weapons of death, continues to exist, is found and felt to exist while the man is awake, and even exists (we find) where it is frequently *not* felt—under the body’s death of sleep. Just so is the Gothic architecture. Found existing first among the Romans in Egypt; it went on undoubtedly in Egypt, in Judæa, in Spain, in Britain, in all the parts of the Roman empire; not the legitimate, the original, the severe architecture of the empire, but the pleasing, the fantastical, the affected; repeatedly observed at times in the ages immediately succeeding the empire, and so known to have existed in the period between both. From the elevated mount of history, we catch a view of the current in different points; and though we cannot trace its line of progression with our eye, yet are sure the

† Arch. viii. 193.

‡ Ibid. *ibid.*

sunny gleams that we see of its waters, are only the parts of one continued whole.

But as *he* proceeds, to whom I owe so much information, and with whom antiquarianism has here taken such an uncommon circuit of erudition, "some architectural novelty seems to have made its appearance at this period," about A. D. 1000, "as may be collected from the words of Glaber Rudolph, a Benedictine monk and cotemporary; and churches, no doubt, took the form of *this* fashionable innovation" of peaked arches *. Mr. Ledwich has very fairly given us the passage in Rudolph, at the bottom of his page; and I find it to be what I am sorry to pronounce it, all foreign to his purpose. "Below the thousandth year," as I translate it literally, referring the original still to the bottom of the page, "*when now the third year was almost come*, it happened in nearly all the *earth*," by which he means only all Christendom, "but especially in *Italy* and *France*, that the grander churches were *formed anew* †." I have thus endeavoured to preserve in my translation that *equivocality* of expression in the principal word, which is in the original, and has imposed upon Mr. Ledwich. He applies the *new formation* in the passage, to the introduction of the pointed arch on the continent; yet *that* is here fixed to the years 1002-3; and *this* has been previously proved by Mr. Ledwich himself, to have been there "in use in the ninth and tenth centuries" before. So unfortunately contradictory is our very searching and very successful antiquary in his evidences! But the present evidence has really no connexion with the subject. It cannot possibly have any reference to *pointed arches*, as the innovation *then* introduced on the continent; because *pointed arches* were there, in the two centuries immediately preceding; nor does the passage relate to any innovation of *architectures* at all. It speaks only of an innovation of *buildings*; not of doors, not of windows, not of pillars, not indeed of any *parts* of a building, but of the *whole*. It

* Arch. viii. 193.

† "Infra millesimum, tertio jam ferè imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipuè tamen in Italiâ et Galliis, innovari ecclesiarum basilicas." (iii. c. 4, apud Du Chesne, Hist. Francor. Scriptores, iv. p. 27, 28.)

therefore means apparently the *re-construction* of the whole, the *renovation* of the greater churches, and this called *innovation* by Rudolph. It is actually denominated *innovation* by our own Ingulphus, about the same period, and again by our own historian of Ely, a little later; while it is equally denominated *renovation* by our Gildas a few centuries before, and even by the historian of Ely in another place ‡. A spirit *then* appeared in all the Christian world, says Rudolph, especially in France and Italy, which caused the grander churches to be *rebuilt*; and we shall soon find the same spirit prevailing speedily afterwards in England.

But as Mr. Ledwich pursues his mixed maze of erudition and ingeniousness till he has nearly lost himself in his own labyrinth, “a drawing of the sanctuary at Westminster in the first volume of the *Archæologia*, supposed to be constructed by Edward the Confessor, has *pointed arches*; and [thus] authentic evidence corroborates what has been observed on this coin,” the coin of Edward the Confessor before, carrying the figure of a church with a pointed arch upon it, “as well as the notice in Rudolph.” There is a little impropriety here in speaking of “*this* coin,” when it is at such a distance behind; and in deducing “*authentic* evidence” from a building, only “*supposed* to be constructed by Edward.” But I attend Mr. Ledwich in his farther progress. “The church of Kirkdale, mentioned by Mr. Brooke,” and proved by a Saxon inscription to be a Saxon church §, “has also *the pointed arch*, and is of the age of the Confessor||.” The church of Aldbrough in Holderness too, let me add, which is equally mentioned by Mr. Brooke, which is equally proved by a Saxon inscription to be a Saxon church, and appears equally to be of the age of the Confessor, has on the south side of the nave two arches *sharply pointed*, with the Saxon inscription immediately between

‡ Ingulphus, f. 500: “Jussit cruces lapideas terminorum *innovari*, et *longius* a ripis fluviorum,—ne fortè—in flumina corruerint, prout *antiquas* cruces,—*ibidem aliquando* *appositas*, intellexerat corruisse.” Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 603: “*Ecclesiam ipsam*, ab *Inguare destructam* et per centum annos desolatam,—*diligenter innovavit*,” 613, “*Ecclesiam renovans*.” Gildas, c. viii. “*Renovant ecclesias*.”

§ Arch. v. 188.

|| Arch. viii. 192, 193.

them ; and on the south side of the chancel a doorway, the arch of which is richly laced with zig-zag mouldings, but still *more sharply pointed* ¶. And, to note only one instance immediately below the Conquest, in that new part of the abbey-church at St. Alban's, which I shall hereafter shew to have been erected between the years 1077 and 1093 ; while in the old parts " the arches are semi-circular," and " there is no arch but the " plain semi-circle," in that " the *pointed* arch is to be seen in all the " several specimens of good and complete building *."

" I submit it with great deference to the judgment of the [Antiquarian] " Society," finally subjoins Mr. Ledwich, always learned and always ingenious, " whether the *novum genus ædificandi* of William of Malmesbury, applied to the architecture of the Conqueror's reign, does not imply something more than extent and magnificence ; and whether, to " complete the idea of a new style, we ought not to take in *the pointed* " arch and Gothic ornaments †." Mr. Ledwich thus closes his course of arguments,

¶ Arch. vi. 39. Mr. Pegge, in Arch. vii. 86-89, has only *trifled* in endeavouring to object.

* Mr. Newcome's Hist. of St. Alban's Abbey, p. 45, 95, and vi. 2, hereafter. Yet we are told by Mr. Newcome himself, in p. 95, " that we may here plainly discern the error " of those critics in architecture, who assert that the *pointed* arch arose *first* in the time of " Henry III." [he means Henry I.], " and is *seldom* found in *earlier* constructions ;" a statement surely very inaccurate in point of language ! " whereas, in this structure, the *pointed* " arch is to be seen in all the several specimens of good and complete building ; and the same " was undoubtedly erected in the time of the *Conqueror* and his *sons*," William and *Henry*, " before 1115," the fifteenth year of the *first Henry's* reign. How very confusedly is all this *said* and *meant* ! But, worse than all ! the grand point in the whole is directly contradicted by Mr. Newcome himself in p. 502, and what is *here* noticed as an " error," is *there* asserted for a truth. " In the time of Henry *Third*," he *there* affirms without hesitation, " —the *semi-circular* arch gave way to—the *pointed* arch." He seems to have had Mr. Gray and Mr. Bentham before him at once, to have listened now to one and then to another, but between both to have been so confounded as to become contradictory to both and to himself.

† Arch. viii. 193. This application of the passage in Malmesbury is much more rational than what the celebrated Thomas Warton of Oxford, a writer of considerable taste and talents, but only half an antiquary in erudition, had previously made in his Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser. " The Conqueror," he says there, ii. 186, edit. 2d, 1762, " imported

arguments, and (as I add with a reluctant hand) thus rounds his circle of contradictions together. He *now* suggests the pointed arch to have been introduced into England in “the *Conqueror's* reign,” when he has previously proved it to have been introduced in the days of the *Confessor*. He *now* pleads for the *Conqueror's* introduction of it; though “it is “likely,” he has said of the *Confessor* before, “he saw this new arch on “the continent, and introduced it in *his* works.” He *now* argues for the first appearance of this arch in our churches, as uniting with “Gothic ornaments” to form that “*novum genus ædificandi*,” which Malmesbury ascribes to the Normans of England after the Conquest; yet has absolutely precluded all possibility of admitting his own hypothesis, by appealing for a pointed arch in a church, to a coin of the *Confessor*, to a drawing of the sanctuary at Westminster built by the *Confessor*, and to a representation of Kirkdale church constructed in the days of the *Confessor*. But such contradictions are incident equally to genius and to learning, when either of them is strongly on the quest after a favourite game; and are peculiarly incident perhaps, when learning and genius are hunting, as here, in one couple together; yet not more pertinent to the point is the extract from Malmesbury, than the citation from Rudolph before: they both, indeed, relate to one object, but at different periods and in different regions. Rudolph says, that in A. D. 1002-3 all over the world almost, but especially in Italy and France, the grander churches were rebuilt; and Malmesbury adds what is the sequel to this intimation, that as Italy (I suppose) had begun the practice, and France had followed her in it, so the Normans of France settled it with themselves about sixty years afterwards in England. The Saxons, says Malmesbury, “spent all their estates in feasting within *small and petty* “*houses*, much unlike the *French* and *Normans*, who gave moderate entertainment in *ample and superb edifices* ;” and, as he subjoins at some distance afterwards, in the very same tenour of observation, under the Normans “you may see every where churches in towns, minsters in villages

“imported a more magnificent, though not a different, plan—; the style then used consisted “of *round* arches, *round-headed* windows,” &c. “This has been named the Saxon style, “being the national architecture of our Saxon ancestors—; for the Normans only extended “its proportions, and enlarged its scale.”

“and

“and cities, *rising in a new form of construction* ‡.” There the union of the two parts shews the meaning of the latter decisively. But still more decisively does it appear, from another passage in another place of his works; when he speaks of a church, built (as tradition said) in the days of Ina, “the eastern end of which has *lately been carried much farther forward, by the ambitious fondness for new constructions* §.” Thus, and only thus, were raised what this very historian has made one of his personages to denominate, in another place; the “*pompaticæ ædes*,” or pompous churches, of the Normans ||. “The new form of construction” therefore appears to be, *not* a variation in the mould of the arch, a substitution of the pointed for the round, *but* something more striking to the eye of history, an addition of size in their new churches. The renovation of the churches upon a larger scale had begun on the continent about 1002-3, but was then confined to grander churches. It had now proceeded so rapidly there, that, on its importation into England by the Normans, it extended itself not merely to grander churches in cities, but to those in villages, even to common churches in towns, and to all of them in all parts of the kingdom. In the space only of *fifty-four* years after the Conquest, and at the very period of Malmesbury’s writing, had that spirit so diffused itself, and had those effects been so produced by it. “*You may see*,” he cries, “*every where* churches in towns, minsters in villages and cities, *rising in a new form of construction*,” like the eastern end of the church above, carried on to a greater length, and like the pri-

‡ Malmesbury, f. 57: “Parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absumebant, Francis et Normannis absimiles, qui amplis et superbis ædificiis modicas expensas agunt.—Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere consurgere.” *Monasteria* I translate *Minsters*, because this word is the relative to that, comprehends equally the cathedral and collegiate churches, is thus the middle term appropriated by our Saxon ancestors to both, and is still preserved colloquially among us in Rippon *Minster*, York *Minster*, Winburn *Minster*, and West *Minster*.

§ Malmesbury, lib. v. De Pontificibus, Gale, i. 354: “Hujus orientalem frontem nuper in majus porrexit recentis ædificationis ambitio.”

|| Malmesbury, f. 160, Savile: “Non noverat illa felicitum virorum ætas pompaticas ædes construere.”

vate houses made ample edifices, in the room of the petty that were there before ¶.

The use of the peaked arch then, if we go upon those facts which alone ought to fix our faith, is prior to the Conquest within this island. The church of Kirkdale, the church of Aldbrough, the sanctuary of Westminster, and the coin of the Confessor, shew the arch to have been used here in the Confessor's days. The appearance also of the peaked arch, in the empress Helena's magnificent church of Jerusalem, upon a monument of the Romans in the north of Britain, and in a remaining church of theirs within the south, proves it to have been equally used here as early as the days of the Romans. Then the old cathedral of St. German's comes in to fill up the vacuity of the ages between, and forms an intermediate link in the chain of transmission betwixt the Romans and the Confessor. Whatever antiquity of an *earlier* nature it may challenge, *certainly* built as early as the conquest of Cornwall, *certainly* coæval in existence with Athelstan's appointment of a bishop there under 936; it is prior to the reign of the Confessor by more than a century, and contemporary with any coins of the *tenth* century, representing a church with peaked arches upon the continent*.

SECTION

¶ Malmesbury, f. 98, appears writing, "usque in annum vicesimum," and (as an apparently later copy reads) correcting "usque in annum vicesimum *octavum*," of Henry I.'s reign, A. D. 1120 or 1128.

* Dr. Ducarrel, in his Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 102, observes, "*Pointed* arches—, "I apprehend, were not introduced till near the *end* of the *twelfth* century," a few years prior to the reign of Henry III.: and p. 103, adds, "the plain *round* arch may therefore be "deemed the *fashion* of the *Conqueror's* reign." So saying, he *in general* speaks only as others are talking around him. But he carries an imprudence peculiar to himself in so doing, as in p. 59 he tells us, "King William the Conqueror built a stately palace for his "own residence," at Caen; "several parts of it still remain, particularly one apartment, "which is very large, and makes a noble appearance;" and as in his plate of this "part of "the ancient palace of William the Conqueror at Caen," the very numerous windows, running in two tiers, filling up nearly the whole extent of the wall, and therefore coæval certainly with the wall itself, are actually all *peaked in their arches*. In p. 104 also he conjectures *pointed* arches in the same building with *round*, to mark the *former* as *additions* made to the *latter*; when in that very plate of William's palace *one* arch upon the *ground-floor*,
the

SECTION III.

BUT let not the assertion of Malmesbury, concerning the comparative smallness of the Saxon and Norman churches, be taken without considerable allowances. He has certainly overcharged his picture of the Saxon with shade: he has even thrown such a vast profusion of shade over it, as to cover and conceal the light of truth. In proof of this, I need appeal only to some descriptions of Saxon churches; and such an appeal is necessary to the very illustration of my present survey of the Cornish cathedral.

We first find them decorated richly with silver, gold, or jewels; and may therefore be sure in general they were temples worthy to be the repositories of such valuable oblations†. Thus the church of Ramsey abbey had “a tablet of wood in the front of the higher altar, finely ornamented
“with broad and solid plates of silver, as well as gems of various kinds
“and colours ‡.” Thus also the church of Ely received from Edgar as

the doorway up into the great tower, is *round* amid all the *pointed* arches *above*, and with one *pointed* arch *directly over it in the same tower*; when also, in this very page 104, he notices “the west front of the church of Pont-Audemer, where the *middle* window hath a *pointed*
“arch, and is wider than the two *side* ones, which have *round* arches.” A fixed principle, taken up without examination, and impressed upon the mind by continual transmission from mouth to mouth, or from pen to pen, hangs like a leaden bias upon the reason, and draws it off continually into obliquities of movement. In the very plate too which Dr. Ducarrel himself gave to Mr. Bentham’s account of Ely cathedral, the old conventual church appears at the part said to be rebuilt during 1102, with two *round-headed* windows *within* arches of a *peaked* form. See p. 29. The Doctor, indeed, and Mr. Bentham, in deference to all their betters, mistake the *predominancy* of the peaked arch for the *origin* of it; and date the *introduction* of the peaked to the round, *where* they should fix the *supersedence* of the round by the peaked; thus inverting the course of the current, and placing the springs of the Nile at the seven mouths of it.

† See Arch. iv. 55-68, for Mr. Pegge’s judicious illustration of the state of “Saxon jewelry
“previous to the reign of Alfred;” an illustration usefully according with what I shall now write.

‡ Hist. Ramseiensis, c. 54, Gale, i. 420: “Tabulam ligneam in fronte eminentioris altaris—, amplis et solidis argenti laminis, cum varii tam coloris quam generis geminis
“[gemmis], insigniter perornavit.”

a present,

a present, “ his own cloak, formed of fine purple, and interwoven throughout with threads of gold in plates, like a coat of mail §.” Malmesbury himself informs us concerning the church of Sherborn, that Sighelm, bishop of it, was “ sent over sea” by Alfred to Rome “ with some of the king’s alms, and even to the Christians of St. Thomas in India;” that “ with a wonderful success, which must excite admiration in the present age,” excite it even in our own, after a complete discovery of those Christians and this country, “ he actually penetrated into India, and on his return brought back the exotic gems [as well as the aromatic liquors], with which the country abounds;” and that “ some of the gems are yet seen in the monuments of Sherborn church ||.”

We actually find a Saxon abbot of St. Alban’s, during a general famine, laying out in relieving the poor, “ the treasure long before reserved for the fabrication of the church,—with the vessels of gold and silver belonging to his own table, as well as to the church; retaining only some

§ Leland’s Coll. ii. 593: “ Ex Annalibus Eliensis Monasterii. ‘ Idem rex chlamidem suam, de insigni purpurâ, ad modum lorice auro undique contextam, illuc contulit.’” Mr. Bentham has strangely translated the words thus, “ his own royal robe of purple, embroidered with gold,” p. 78.

|| Malmesbury, f. 141: “ Sighelmus trans mare causâ eleemosynarum regis, et etiam ad Sanctum Thomam in Indiam missus, mirâ prosperitate, quod quivis in hâc seculo miretur, Indiam penetravit; indeque rediens, exotici generis gemmas” [and “ liquores aromatum,” as he interpolates in f. 24], “ quarum illa humus ferax est, exportavit. Nonnullæ illarum [gemmarum] adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.” This hint of aromatic liquors from India, is peculiarly curious. I know of none which can answer the hint at present, except that extract from the blossom-bunch of the cocoa-tree, which we denominate ARRACK. This answers completely, and this alone I suppose to be meant. We thus obtain a very early intimation of the use of this finely flavoured liquor in England. The extract appears to have been known among us so early as the reign of Alfred, and this worthy sovereign drank arrack a thousand years nearly before his subjects of the present generation. Alfred’s quantity of arrack, however, must have been very small; being all brought over land from India, and consequently within a small vessel. It was then considered undoubtedly as the choicest of all liquors, the very *nepenthes* of the ancients; though we are now so familiar with it, that the appellation for arrack dropping fresh from the wounded bunch, is used popularly among us for another liquor, even the farmers of Cornwall drinking toddy composed of brandy and water.

“ precious gems, for which he did not find purchasers, and some noble
 “ engraved stones, which we commonly call CAMÆOES; of which a great
 “ part was reserved for decorating the shrine of St. Alban, when it
 “ should be framed ¶.”

To these evidences, so strikingly attesting the commercial wealth of the Saxons, and so strongly indicating the peculiar splendour of their churches, I shall add only one more. The founder and abbot of Croyland, in the reign of Edgar, assigned for the service of the eucharist there
 “ one cup of gold, and two phials of silver gilt, modelled in the form of
 “ two angels, with enchased work upon them; and two basins of silver,
 “ wonderful in their workmanship and size, very finely enchased with
 “ soldiers in armour; all which vessels Henry, emperor of Germany,
 “ had formerly presented to him, and up to the time of presenting had
 “ always retained in his own chapel *.”

¶ M. Paris, 995: “Thesaurum ad fabricam ecclesiæ diu antè reservatum, cum—vasis
 “ aureis et argenteis, tam suæ mensæ quam ecclesiæ deputatis, in pauperum expendit susten-
 “ tationem; retentis tantummodò quibusdam gemmis preciosis, ad quas non invenit empto-
 “ res, et quibus [quibusdam] nobilibus lapidibus insculptis, quas [quos] *camæeos* vulgariter
 “ appellamus, quorum magna pars, ad feretrum decorandum, est reservata.” We thus find our present term of *cameyo*, used so early as the Saxon times. It was derived to us originally from the East, in *camæa*, the Oriental name of a kind of onyx, found in Egypt, in Arabia, in Persia, and in the East Indies. But it was applied by the Saxons, we see from this passage, “nobilibus lapidibus *insculptis*,” just in the sense in which we apply it now. For the intercourse, which could bring the gem and the name among the Saxons, we have seen sufficient already. We find *cameyoes* also in other monasteries, being mentioned so late as the Reformation, and then specified as antiques; because, at the general plunder of our churches by the royal felon in sacrilege, Henry VIII. we see “delivered unto his majesty the
 “ xxvi day of June, anno xxxii” of his reign, 1541, “a great amatist [amethyst], a great
 “ saphire, certain *camewes* or *anticks*,” &c. “parcels of such stuffs as *came from the cathe-
 “ dral church of Lincoln.*” (Stevens’s Additions to Monasticon, i. 83.)

* Ingulphus, 504: “Calicem aureum, et duas phialas argenteas et deauratas, ac in formam
 “ duorum angelorum opere cælatorio fabrefactas, et duas pelves argenteas, miri operis ac
 “ magnitudinis, pulcherrimè cælatas cum militibus armatis. Quæ vasa universa impe-
 “ rator Alemanniæ Henricus aliquando contulerat, et usque ad illud tempus semper in suâ
 “ capellâ reservârat.”

Nor let us suppose such vessels to have been merely foreign, and therefore rare. We find a remarkable instance to the contrary, even in a dignified clergyman of the Saxons. The famous Dunstan “was blessed
 “with such a natural genius, that he readily comprehended very acutely,
 “and retained very firmly, any subject; and, though he was *superbly*
 “*great in other arts*, yet he attached himself with a peculiar affection
 “to instrumental music; taking the psaltery like David, striking the
 “harp, modulating the organ, touching the cymbals. Being besides
 “dexterous in *every manual operation*, he could *form pictures or inscrip-*
 “*tions, imprint them with a graver, upon gold, silver, brass, or iron, and*
 “*indeed execute any thing*. He also fabricated *bells and cymbals**.”
 We even find that appellation of *filagree*, by which we at present distinguish the finest part of our workmanship in silver, the open and thread-like vermiculations of the graver; actually used and actually well known within a few years after the Conquest, in the most northerly parts of the kingdom; the historian of Hexham church informing us, that one who had been chaplain made a return for kindnesses received, “in a *beautiful*
 “*piece of FILATERY*, namely, a *silver cross*, in which the relics of the
 “*holy confessors and bishops, Acca and Alchmund, were contained†.*”

And

* Twisden's Decem Scriptores, c. 1646, Gervase: “Erat ita naturali præditus ingenio, ut
 “facile quamlibet rem acutissime intelligeret, firmissime retineret, et, quamvis aliis artibus
 “magnifice polleret, musicam tamen, eam videlicet quæ instrumentis agitur, speciali quâ-
 “dam affectione vendicabat; sicut David psalterium sumens, citharam percutiens, modifi-
 “organa, cimbala tangens. Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, facere potuit picturam, literas
 “formare, scapello imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære, et ferro, et quidlibet operari. Signa
 “quoque et cimbala faciebat.”

† Twisden, c. 305, Richard: “Fecit igitur illam [redditionem] cum quodam pulchro
 “*filaterio*, scilicet cruce argenteâ, in quâ sanctorum confessorum et episcoporum, Accæ
 “et Alchmundi, reliquiæ continebantur;” or, as the title to the chapter says, “per pul-
 “chram *philacterium*.” So in “Gregor. Regist. lib. 12, epist. 7,—*filateria*—, id est,
 “*crucem cum ligno sanctæ crucis Domini.*” (Spelman.) The term therefore is not, as the
 inquisitive reader naturally supposes at first, a derivative from *flum*, and descriptive of the
 thread-like vermiculations; but *phylacterium*, *philactery*, or *filatery*, as a vessel of silver,
 pierced in lattice-work, to shew the relics which it enclosed, and so coming to signify in
filigranne, French, in *filigreen*, *filagræe*, English, what it now signifies. The ancient
filagree was sometimes in gold also, as we have “*philaterium aureum, cujus pretium erat 12*

And to mention one instance more of Saxon workmanship, as more apposite to the present point, Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, in the reign of Edgar, “gave the church one golden chalice of immense weight, in honour and reverence to the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,” with “three crosses very finely formed of pure silver and gold:—he also decorated the church with texts, as well in pure silver as in standard gold, and with very valuable stones, with censers and phials, basins of cast metal, and chandeliers of molten silver:—he made two bells, as is reported, *with his own hands*, and placed them in the monastery together with two others of a larger size, which even the blessed Dunstan is said to have *made with his own hands*.—He finally *fabricated a certain wheel full of bells*, which he denominated the golden wheel, because of the gilded plates on it; and which he ordered to be turned round and rung upon festivals, to excite the greater devotion*.” So much were the churches in our island then decorated with the choicest productions of the fine arts, and many of these productions fabricated by the hands of the Saxons themselves! But let us come still closer to the point, and see how the Saxon churches were actually *built*. The authority of such an historian as Malmesbury is not to be opposed without positive proof adduced against it †.

Aldred,

“*marcarum auri*,” at Ramsey. (Leland’s Coll. ii. 587.) So in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 604, we have concerning Edgar, “*dedit etiam de suâ capellâ capsides et philateria*,” in i. 633, concerning a bishop in the reign of Richard I., that he gave to Ely cathedral, “*capsam argenteam cum filatorio aureo*,” and in i. 634, concerning a third bishop, that he gave “*ii. filateria pulchrè fabrefacta cum lapidibus, sub quibus reliquæ S. Thomæ martyris et aliorum sanctorum continebantur*.”

* Monasticon, i. 104: “*Dedit—calicem unum aureum immensi ponderis, ob honorem et reverentiam corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi;—dedit etiam tres cruces admodum decoras ex argento et auro puro.—Ornavit etiam ecclesiam textis, tam ex argento puro quàm ex auro obrizo, pariter et lapidibus preciosissimis, thuribulis, et fialis, pelvibus fusilibus, et candelabris ex argento ductilibus—. Fecit etiam duas campanas propriis manibus, ut dicitur, quas in hac domo posuit cum aliis duabus majoribus, quas etiam Beatus Dunstanus propriis manibus fecisse perhibetur.—Præterea fecit—quandam rotam tintinnabulis plenam, quam auream nuncupavit propter laminas ipsius deauratas, quam in festivis diebus ad majoris excitationem devotionis reducendo volvi constituit.*”

† One thing is recorded of the famous lady Godiva, buried at Coventry, by Malmesbury himself:

Aldred, the last of the Saxon archbishops of York, when he was only bishop of Worcester, was sent ambassador by Edward to the emperor of Germany; afterwards, when bishop of Hereford, crossed the sea, passed through Hungary, and reached Jerusalem, “which not one of the archbishops or bishops of England,” says an author, “is known to have done *before* ;” and, soon after his return, was raised to the see of York by the Confessor. Then he “enlarged the old church of Beverley with the addition of a new chancel, and built the whole church from this chancel even to the tower constructed by his predecessor Kinsius, in a very wonderful manner; with that kind of painting over head which is called ceiling, variously bespangled, and bedropt with gold. Above the door of the quire, also, he caused a pulpit to be made with incomparable workmanship, of brass, silver, and gold; he erected an arch on each side of the pulpit, and a taller arch in the middle over the pulpit, bearing a cross at the top of it, and all made, like the pulpit, of brass, silver, and gold, *in German work**.” So early did the Germans practise the art of inlaying brass with silver and gold; so early, also, did our ancestors begin to imitate this “German work,” it being assuredly

“Cum thesauros ibi vivens totos conguessisset, jam jamque moritura, *circulum gemmarum*, quem *filo insuerat*, ut *singularum contactu* singulas orationes incipiens numerum non *prætermitteret*; hunc ergo gemmarum circulum, collo imaginis sanctæ Mariæ appendi jussit” (f. 165). This is a bead-roll, at once the most ancient, I suppose, and the most sumptuous, I believe, that is recorded in our history. And the historian says, in another place, that the whole monastery was built in 1043, “tanto auri et argenti spectaculo, ut ipsi parietes ecclesiæ angustî viderentur thesaurorum receptaculis, miraculo porro magno visentium oculis” (f. 73).

* Twisden, c. 1701, Stubbs: “Quod nullus archiepiscoporum, vel episcoporum Angliæ dinoscitur eatenus fecisse.” C. 1704: “Veterem ecclesiam à presbyterio usque ad turrin ab antecessore suo Kinsio constructam, superius opere pictorio quod cælum vocant, auro multiformiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit. Supra hostium etiam chori pulpitem, ære, auro, et argento, opereque incomparabili, fabricari fecit; et in utràque parte pulpiti arcus, et in medio supra pulpitem arcum eminentiorem, crucem in summitate gestantem, similiter ex ære, auro, et argento, opere Teutonico, fabrefactos erexit.” So M. Paris, 1054, as it is printed, but 1062, as it ought to be, “pulpitem in medio ecclesiæ cum magnâ cruce suâ, Mariâ quoque, et Johanne,” &c. brought

brought by Aldred from Germany, when he returned from his embassy to the emperor, it being undoubtedly used by Aldred at Beverley, when he rebuilt the church there; and so large, so decorated, was this Saxon church of Beverley †! But

† In Arch. ix. 117, Mr. Pownall says, "Here is the first, and, as far as I can find, the only mention made of the *Teutonic order*, expressly described as a fabrication of frame-work,—timber, building;" when the account is all confined "expressly" in Mr. Pownall's own citation to a cross, "*crucem in summitate gestantem,—opere Teutonico fabrefactam*;" when in the original it is extended to a cross and some arches, "*arcus, et—arcum eminentiorem, crucem, opere Teutonico fabrefactos*;" and when, in the original equally with the citation, all are "expressly described as a fabrication," not of *frame* or *timber* work, but of *metal*, "*ex ære, auro, et argento, opere Teutonico fabrefactos*." Yet on this basis, rotten as it is to the core, and dissolving into dust under the pressure of a finger, does he found an hypothesis: "that, the churches throughout all the northern parts of Europe being in a ruinous state, the *Pope* created several corporations of *Roman* or *Italian* architects and artists;" when Mr. Pownall's own reasoning requires they should *not* be Roman, *not* be Italian, *but* Teutonic or German. "The common and usual appellation of this corporation in England, was that of the free and accepted masons" (p. 117, 118); an appellation, surely, that betrays them to be purely English in their origin. "My notes and memorandums inform me, that this corporation was established about the time of the early parts of the reign of enry III. of England." (P. 121.) Yet the first mention of them which Mr. Pownall himself can adduce, "is in a law of the 3d of Henry VI.;" and this mention proves them undeniably to be English. "Whereas," says the statute-book in our own language, "by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by THE MASONS in their general chapters and assemblies, the good course and effect of the statutes of *labourers* be openly violated and broken;" those confederacies and congregations are forbidden. The quality of these "artists" and "architects" was merely that of "labourers," then; and their appellation then, as now, was solely that of "masons." It was so in English; it was equally so in French; the same law speaking of them in Mr. Pownall's own quotation, as, "*les masons*" (p. 119). Their origin, therefore, is no more derived from Rome, Italy, or even Germany, than it is from the moon. Yet, to shew how wits, like giants, can pile mountain upon mountain, till they reach the region of the moon itself; Mr. Pownall subjoins, in p. 121, that "*the Gothic architecture* used '*citra Alpes montes*,' came forward into practice as a "*regular established order* about" the beginning of the third Henry's reign, when he himself has been just finding it as "*the Teutonic order*," in the reign of the Confessor, two centuries before; and when, all the while, the "*Teutonic executing*" was confined entirely to brass, silver, or gold. Nor are the "*masons*" to be confounded, as they have so frequently been, with the Flemings, who were invited hither, as architects. (Arch. ii. 12.) These *were* architects, while *those* were mere "*labourers*." Behold,

But let us turn to the church of Rippon, at a much earlier period. There, says the attendant and survivor of the famous Wilfrid, he, in the year 670†, “built a minster of polished stone, from the foundations in “the earth to the summit of the whole, reared it upon various pillars, “raised it high, and completed it. When the house was finished, he “*invited against the day of the dedication, the most Christian kings* “Eagfrid and Ælwin, brothers§, with the abbots, prefects, subreguli, “and all the persons of dignity, who all convened at *the church*. He “consecrated the house to the Lord, by dedicating it to St. Peter, and “the prayers of all who should make responses in it; dedicated the “altar and its pediments to the Lord; covered it with *purple interwoven “with threads of gold*, and completed all by administering the eucharist “there to the persons present.—He also gave, among other donations “for decorating the house of God, *a present unheard of by our times “before, a kind of prodigy*; ordering a copy of the four Gospels to be “written for it, in *letters of the purest gold*, upon leaves of parchment, “*purpled in the ground, and coloured variously upon the surface*. And “he commanded jewellers to bind all the books in the church’s library,

hold, then, the glorious beginners of the Gothic order of architecture in England. They first appear as early as the eleventh century, all wrapped up closely in German frocks; re-appear in the thirteenth, all folded loosely in Roman gowns; and re-appear again in the fifteenth, without any disguises, English masons dressed in English habits, stripped to their waistcoats, brandishing their trowels, and wearing their leathern aprons. Behold, too, the mighty fathers of those free and accepted masons, who were once so very numerous among us, who are still so respectable in many of their members, yet, in a strain of romancing foolery trace up their origin to the clouds; but who were mere masons, mere labourers, three or four hundred years ago, combined together for the purposes of their manual employ, as we now see tailors, or shoemakers, combined at times, and, like them, presuming to prescribe rates of wages to the public for their manual labours. See No. II. in Appendix, here, for some more remarks on the origin of Free Masons.

† Bede, 751.

§ We thus see the modern title of the kings of France, attributed by one writer to two princes of Northumbria, many centuries ago; so in Ingulphus, 497, we see the collective appellation, which James the First very wisely gave to the whole of this island, then united into one whole, for the first time during sixteen hundred years preceding, and probably during some hundreds before; actually anticipated by Edred, the sovereign only of the heptarchy, “Ego Edredus rex,—*Magnæ “Britanniæ temporale gerens imperium.*”

"gild them with the purest gold, and emboss them with the dearest gems. All of these donations, and some others, in testimony of his blessed memory, are preserved to this day in our church*." So capacious were some churches of the Saxons, and so magnificent were the Saxons in the decorations of some of them!

We actually behold some decorations, more, that are very striking in themselves, and not confined to a single church, but extended to two. Canute is reported by Malmesbury himself, to have visited the tomb of Edmund Ironside at Glastonbury, and to have thrown over it "a pall, interwoven (as it seems) with the variegated feathers of the peacock†." Adhelm, adds the same Malmesbury, in another place concerning a Saxon in the reign of Ina, went to Rome, and officiated at the altar in the Lateran there, "in a garment which is called a *casula*," and which, at the end of the service, "he threw off behind; a garment," evidently open before like a modern surplice, and more recently denominated a *chesuble* among us, "of which it is uncertain whether he carried it with him from England, or borrowed it there for the time, and," what proves he did not borrow it, but brought it with him, "which is still preserved among us; being made of the most delicate threads, saturated with the dyes of the shell-fishes, and therefore of a purple colour, while

* Eddius, c. 17. Gale, i. 59, 60: "In Hryp̃is basilicam cum polito lapide à fundamētis in terrā usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis—suffultam, in altum erexit, et consummavit. Jam postea perfectā domu, ad diem dedicationis ejus invitatis regibus Christianissimis Eadfrido et Ælwino fratribus, cum abbatibus, præfectisque, et sub-regulis, totiusque dignitatis personis; simul in unum convenerunt: consecrantes domum Domini, in honorem Sancti Petri—dicatam, precesque in eā populorum suffragantium; altare quoque, cum basibus suis, Domino dedicantes, purpurâque auro—textâ induentes; populi que communicantes omnia canonicè compleverunt:—addens quoque sanctus pontifex noster, inter alia dona ad decorem domûs Dei, inauditum antè seculis nostris, quoddam miraculum; nam quatuor Evangelia, de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, scribere jussit. Necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem, de auro purissimo et gemmis preciosissimis fabrefactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit: quæ omnia, et alia nonnulla, in testimonium beatæ memoriæ ejus, in ecclesiâ nostrâ usque hodie reconduntur."

† Gale, i. 323: "Palliam versicoloribus pennis pavonum, ut videtur, intextum."

"the black circles upon it have various peacocks, imaged out to a spacious length within them†." These

† Gale, i. 351: "Missâ dictâ, vestem quam casulam vocant post terga rejecit—: hæc autem vestis, incertum an ab Angliâ secum delata, an ibi ad tempus commodata, hactenus apud nos habetur:—est autem fili delicatissimi, quod, conchyliorum fucis ebrium, rapuerit colorem coccineum, habentque nigræ rotulæ intra se effigiatas species pavonum longitudinis spatiosæ." The *casula* was not an *alb*, being expressly distinguished from it by Malmesbury, in Gale, i. 325, "Albam—, cappas—, casulam." Spelman says, accordingly, "Ort. Vocab. *Casula* a—chesuble, et Dictionar. Vet. "Anglo-Lat. *Chesible*, "*casula*." It was plainly in Adhelm's case, a garment only for officiating; as Adhelm is said "to have thrown it off behind, when he had said mass." It was, however, not what Spelman's "Ort. Vocab. *Casula*" calls it equally, "a little cope, or chesuble." It was too large to be a *cope*, and much too large to be a *little cope*. This is plain from the description of Adhelm's *casula*, with "various peacocks imaged out to a spacious length," within some black circles upon it. This is also plain from an ancient description of the *casula* in general, that, "instar parvæ casæ, totum hominem tegit." (Spelman from Balbus.) The garment, therefore, was one, which hung all over the body like a present surplice, was like this worn only for the hour of ministration, and then, like the modern surplice, cut open before, could be thrown off behind. Yet it was certainly not a *surplice*, as, in the form of degrading an archbishop, the "super-pellicium" is mentioned first, afterwards comes the "alba," and then the "planeta," or *casula*. (Spelman under *Manipulus*.) It was merely a *chesuble*. Yet Mr. Bentham interprets it, without any seeming suspicion that he can be wrong, not a *chesuble*, not a *surplice*, not a *cope*, but a *cassock*. "On inspecting the body of Wolstan, archbishop of York," he says, p. 91, "they found it quite decayed; but the clothing, particularly the *cassock*," *casulum*, "and archiepiscopal pall affixed to it with gilded pins, and the stole and maniple—entire." That *casula* should signify, at once, a *chesuble* and a *cassock*, is impossible; in fact, it signified only the former. It was a dress worn merely in officiating; as "*casula dicitur vulgo planeta*," "*presbyteri*," says Balbus, in Spelman, and as *planetas*, adds St. Jerome in Spelman again, is "*tunica quâ utebar in ministerio Christi*," and the reason for finding the *casula* with the pall, the stole, and the maniple, on archbishop Wolstan, is sufficiently explained to us in this passage concerning archbishop Becket, whom the attendants hastily buried after his murder, says W. Fitz-Stephen, in Sparkes, 89, "*ipso eodem in quo ordinatus fuit vestimento, albâ—, superhumerali simplici*," the *tippet* still worn by proctors and preachers at Oxford; "*chrismaticâ, mitrâ, stolâ, mapulâ [maniculâ], quæ omnia reservari præceperat, fortè in diem sepulturæ suæ; supra quæ habuit archiepiscopaliter tunicam, dalmaticam, casulam, pallium cum spinulis, calicem, chirothecas, annulum, sandalia*," &c. So perplexed are our antiquaries, at present, with the names of ecclesiastical garments that must once have been very familiar! Such an influence, indeed, has our necessary revolt from popery to protestantism had upon the mind of the nation, that antiquaries are obliged to explain to the learned the meaning of those names, which must once

These instances would be sufficient of themselves; but I add one more: the Saxon queen of Canute “*wrought, with her own hands, a fine piece of purple, surrounded on every side with a border of gold fringe, and ornamented at several parts of it by extraordinary workmanship with gold and precious gems, as in stories; and presented it to the church of Ely, that NOWHERE ELSE IN THE REGION OF ENGLAND SHOULD BE FOUND A PIECE OF SUCH WORKMANSHIP AND VALUE ¶.*”

Let us then attend singly to the size of the Saxon churches; for that purpose enter Hexham church particularly, and survey the structure of it. This, says a cotemporary historian, is one “*the deepness of which in the ground, all with the rooms founded of stones admirably polished, but having above ground one room of many parts, supported on various columns and on many underground chapels, yet possessing a wonderful length and height of walls, and, by various passages winding in lines, carried along spiral stairs, sometimes up, sometimes down *.*”

This

have been as well known to the vulgar, as the very garments themselves. The oldest chesuble mentioned in our annals, I believe, is one in the Life of St. Wenefred. (Leland's Itin. iv. 137.) But the chesuble of Adhelm, mentioned above by Malmesbury as existing to his time, existed equally to the time of Leland, the very reverence for founders and saints proving an elegant spirit of *virtù* to the monks; “*Mailduni—adhuc monachi sui patroni monimenta ostendant, nempe sacram vestem, quâ indutus missam celebrare solebat.—Hæc,*” this and other relics, “*ego nuper Meilduni vidi.*” (De Script. Brit. 100.)—For a cassock, see vi. 1, hereafter.

¶ Gale, i. 502, and Wharton's Angla Sacra, i. 607: “*Insignem—purpuram aurifrisio undique cinctam fecit, et [per Gale] partes auro et gemmis pretiosis mirifico opere, velut tabulatis, adornavit, illicque obtulit; ut nulla alia in Anglorum regione talis operis et pretiû inveniatur.*” Of this says Mr. Bentham only thus: “*One piece of purple cloth, wrought with gold, and worked in several compartments with gold, and set with jewels, such as there was none like it for richness in the kingdom.*” (P. 95.) It remained to the days of the historian, the 9th of Henry I. 1109, “*quæ penes nos hactenus reponuntur.*” (Wharton, *ibid.*)

* Eddius, c. xxii.: “*Cujus profunditatem in terrâ, cum domibus mirificè politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis linearum [linearum] anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum, per cochleas circumdatam.*” That “*porticibus,*” here means underground chapels, is plain from the word “*suffultam*” applied to them, and applied to them equally as to the pillars. Mr. Bentham,

This is a delineation, we must feel, that would even accord with any of our cathedrals at present †. But the author closes his account with a declaration of a very extraordinary energy and comprehensiveness; “nor did I ever hear of any other house *on this side of the Alpine mountains*, built *equal with this* ‡.” Where then are the small churches with which Malmesbury has comparatively characterized the Saxon æra of our history? We see the Saxons erecting some, superior in form and in magnitude to any out of Italy, that source of revived grandeur in architecture to all Europe. But perhaps, as a Saxon is the describer, he may have carried his description beyond the truth; not from any desire of amplifying, only from the natural wonder of a man accustomed to small churches, at a church a little larger, though not very large. To a pigmy amid a race of pigmies, the common stature of man might appear gigantic tallness. Let us see, therefore, how a Norman describes this very church of Hexham; and whether then, under the fair glass of truth, it contracts into a church *a little more than small*.

“The *deepness* of the church,” says Richard, the prior of it, about a hundred years after the Conquest, “he [Wilfrid] *founded below* with *great labour, in crypts and oratories subterraneous*, with winding passages to them §.” But as the author proceeds, “the walls he erected
“ of

p. 22, renders the words “*variis linearum [linearium] anfractibus*,” as if they were distinct from “*viarum aliquando sursum aliquando deorsum per cochleas circumdatam*,” in this wild way, “surrounded with various mouldings and bands curiously wrought;” then adds thus, “and the turnings and windings of the passages,” &c. He did not understand the sentence, he guessed at the meaning, and he missed it totally.

† W. Fitz-Stephens, in Sparke, 86, for Canterbury cathedral: “*Crypta erat prope, in qua multa, et pleraque tenebrosa, diverticula. Item erat ibi aliud ostium prope, quo per cochleam ascenderet ad cameras et testidunes ecclesiæ superioris.*”

‡ Eddius, c. xxii.: “*Neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes, talem ædificatam exaudivimus.*”

§ Twisden, c. 290: “*Profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferiùs cum magnâ industriâ fundavit.*” Mr. Bentham thus wildly renders the words: “The foundations of this church—St. Wilfrid laid deep in the earth, for the crypts and oratories, and the passages leading to them, which were *there* with great

“ of immense length and height, supported on columns of squared, varied, well-polished stones, and divided into three stories ||.” “ The walls themselves,” he adds, “ with the capitals of those columns by which the walls were supported, as also the coved ceiling of the sanctuary, he decorated with histories, statues, and various figures projecting in sculpture from the stone, with the grateful variety of pictures, and with the wonderful beauty of colours ¶.” “ He also,” subjoins the writer, “ surrounded the very body of the church, with chapels lateral and subterraneous on every side; which, with wonderful and inexplicable artifice, he separated by walls and spiral stairs above and below *.”

“ But

“ exactness contrived and built under ground.” (P. 22.) For fear of stumbling upon straws, the cunning witch flies on her broomstick over them.

|| Twisden, c. 290: “ *Parietes autem quadratis et variis et bene politis columpnis,*” not squared columns, as the words do naturally signify, but, as the words of Eddius before shew, of columns of stones squared and polished, “ *suffultos, et tribus tabulatis distinctos, im-* mensæ longitudinis et altitudinis erexit.” Yet Mr. Bentham translates thus, p. 22: “ The walls, which were of a great length and raised to an immense height, and divided into three several stories or tires, he supported by square and various other kinds,” as round, angular, triangular, or multangular, “ of well-polished columns.”

¶ Twisden, c. 290: “ *Ipsos etiam, et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentantur, et arcum sanctuarii, historiis et imaginibus, et variis cælaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus, et picturarum et colorum gratâ varietate mirabilique decore, devoravit.*”

* Ibid. ibid.: “ *Ipsam quoque corpus ecclesiæ appenticis et porticibus undique circumcinxit; quæ, miro atque inexplicabili artificio, per parietes et cochleas, inferius et superius, distinxit.*” The mention of “ crypts and oratories subterraneous” before, and of “ winding passages to them,” confirms the interpretation which I have given to the word “ Porticibus” in Eddius before; and the use of the very same word here, as uniting with “ Appenticiæ,” to express rooms, that “ surrounded the body of the church on every side,” yet were separated from each other by walls and by stairs, by stairs from the rooms above, but by walls from each other above and below, doubly confirms it. The word *porticus* is also in Bede, v. 20, for the same object; but has never yet been understood, I believe, either here or there. Mr. Bentham has particularly puzzled himself about it, translating it “ Portico,” then proving it to be within the church, and therefore speaking of “ the portico or isle.” (P. 19, 20.) Yet so much better calculated to win upon the world, is a plain meaning than a dubious one, however erroneous in itself the former may be, however contradictory in the author: the last interpretation of a portico into an aisle has been adopted by others, and is beginning to circulate as the legitimate, the acknowledged interpretation of it. “ There were porticoes or to-falls,” says Mr. Shaw, describing the cathedral of Elgin in his History of Moray,

“ But in the very stairs and upon them,” the author goes on, “ he
 “ caused to be made of stone ways of ascent, places of landing, and a va-
 “ riety of windings, some up, some down, yet so artificially, that *an in-*
 “ *numerable multitude of men* might be there, and stand all about the
 “ very body of the church, but not be visible to any that were *below*
 “ in it †.”

“ With

Moray, p. 277, “ on each side of the church, eastward from the traverse or cross, *which were*
 “ *eighteen feet broad without the walls.*” The author then speaks of “ windows in the *por-*
 “ *ticoes,*” and of windows “ *above the porticoes.*”—As to the “ *appenticiæ,*” or lateral
 chapels here, I shall speak to them again in Sect. 4, and iii. 1. Yet here let me observe,
 that they additionally serve, as meaning *lateral* chapels themselves, to fix the porticoes for the
 chapels *under ground*; for what Camden, in edit. 1607, has called very properly “ *crypto-*
 “ *porticus,*” as St. Faith’s chapel under St. Paul’s, p. 306. This meaning of the word con-
 tinued among us below the Conquest. Thus when the church of Ely was burnt by the Danes in
 870, as the historian of Ely tells us about the year 1109, some of the clergy returned because
 the enemy was gone, “ patched up again the *porticoes* of the church, and performed divine
 “ offices in them.” Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*. i. 602: “ *Porticus ecclesiæ resarcientes, divi-*
 “ *num officium solvebant.*” But what were these *porticoes*? The whole church was burnt
 down, “ *ecclesia—igne consumpta est,*” and “ *flammâ et ferro cuncta consumuntur.*” Yet
 let us not rest wholly upon general expressions, so apt in cases of distress to be too big for the
 fact; but let us estimate the ruins by the repairs. From these all the parts above ground ap-
 pear to have been left with frightful chasms in the walls, and with little or no roof over head.
 The new abbot “ *ecclesiæ suæ viriliter instabat; ex parte enim lapsa, velut nova, non sine*
 “ *grandi labore adimplevit, ac deinde tectis reparatis quæ fuerant igne consumpta,*” &c.
 i. 604. The *ails* then were still roofless equally with the nave, and, as being extrinsic to the
 nave, must have been more exposed still to the chasms in the walls. The *ails* therefore
 could not possibly be the *porticoes* that had been patched up; the underground chapels
 alone could be; and the chasms in the walls of the *ails* were so many, that the reparation of
 them is denominated a new construction; “ *templum rursus ædificatum,*” *ibid. ibid.* See
 Mr. Bentham, 70, 74, all erroneous on the point.

† Twisden, c. 290, 291: “ In ipsis verò cochleis, et super ipsas, ascensoria ex lapide, et
 “ *deambulatoria,* et varios viarum anfractus, modò sursum, modò deorsum, artificiosissimè
 “ *ita machinari fecit; ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi existere, et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ*
 “ *circumdare possit, cùm a nemine tamen infra in eâ existentium videri queat.*” Mr. Bentham
 translates thus in p. 22: “ *Within* the staircases, and *above* them, he caused flights of steps
 “ and *galleries* of stone,” Mr. Bentham transferring “ *ex lapide*” to “ *deambulatoria,*” so
 leaping over the intermediate “ *et*” with them, and attaching that to “ *deambulatoria,*”
 which is seemingly attached to “ *ascensoria*” in the original, but in reality belongs to all, as
 all were equally of stone, “ and several passages leading from them,” passages leading from
 —passages!

“ With very great attention and address,” as the writer closes his account, “ he also formed very many oratories, very private and very hand-
 “ some, above and below, in the very chapels subterraneous [and lateral];
 “ in which he ordered altars, with their accompaniments, to be placed.
 “ From this circumstance, *some of those oratories even at this day rear their*
 “ *heads, like so many towers and bulwarks.*—Nor do we dwell on the
 “ *multiplied and very curious construction of buildings,* which waste and
 “ devastation have demolished; though *very numerous foundations are*
 “ *to this day found there, on every side.* For, as ancient histories and
 “ chronicles testify, of the nine minsters over which Wilfrid was a father
 “ and a patron, as also *of all the others throughout the whole of England;*
 “ *this surpassed all, in judiciousness of disposition, and in fineness of*
 “ *fabrication.* Finally, *no such could then be found on this side of the*
 “ *Alps †.*”

This

—passages! “ both for ascending and descending, to be so artfully disposed, that multitudes
 “ of people might be there, and *go round the church,*” a most ridiculous interpretation of
 “ *ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare,*” and one that shews the translator caught not a glimpse
 of his author’s meaning, “ without being seen by any one *below* in the *nave,*” when the
 words of the original are, “ *a nemine tamen infra in eâ [ecclesiâ] existentium,*” and mean the
 persons *below* in the *church,* in the underground chapels of it. “ Multitudes of people,”
 and especially as the version ought to have been, “ an *innumerable* multitude of men,” *could*
 stand only where they are *expressly* placed, “ in the *body* of the church;” and these, so
 placed, could not be seen from the under-croft. But Mr. Bentham has transposed the whole
 scene, placed the *multitudes* in his *private passages,* and fixed the *few* in his *nave.* He has,
 indeed, been hurried away into a total misconception of his author’s meaning, by never ad-
 verting once to the oratories under the church, and by therefore supposing the stairs down to
 them to be merely those narrow and concealed galleries which are formed high in the walls of
 most of our old minsters, as private passages for the workmen in repairing the loftier parts of
 them. The whole substance, indeed, of Richard’s description of Hexham church, is thus
 condensed by Malmesbury in his account of the old cathedral of London; “ *tanta criptæ laxi-*
 “ *tas, tanta superioris ædis capacitas, ut cuilibet populi multitudini videatur posse sufficere*”
 (f. 135.)

† Twisden, c. 291: “ Oratoria quoque quàm plurima, superiùs et inferiùs, secretissima et
 “ pulcherrima, in ipsis porticibus” [and, as the words “ *superiùs et inferiùs*” before shew
 should be added, *et appenticiis*], “ cum maximâ diligentia et cautelâ constituit; in qui-
 “ bus altaria—cum eorum apparatibus—præparari fecit. Unde etiam, usque hodie, quæ-
 “ dam illorum ut turres et propugnacula supereminent. Multiplicem et curiosissimam ædi-
 “ ficiarum

This delineation is uncommonly full, uncommonly precise; and reminds us strongly in the subterraneous crypts with oratories in them, of our late cathedral of St. Paul's, with Jesus chapel and St. Faith's church in "the crowds" under it §; or of our present cathedral of Canterbury, with its "under-croft," and Walloon church below. The Saxons, we see, very early built churches upon the models, on which the finest of our cathedrals have been since built. Even the very appellation of *crypt*, from which the names of under-croft and crowds are by an anglicized pronunciation derived, was familiar to the Saxons; as is evident from the retention of the name in those disguised forms amongst us, from the use of it by the historian of Hexham before, so soon after the Conquest, and from the very declaration of the historian of Ramsey, that king Canute built a nunnery in Ramsey isle, and "the *crypt*, which had been formed

"fiorum structuram, quæ vastatio et vastitas delevit, supersedemus; cum tamen fundamenta plurima adhuc ibi passim reperiuntur. Sicut enim antiquæ historiæ et chronica testantur, inter ix. monasteria quibus prædictus præsul pater et patronus præerat, et inter omnia alia totius Angliæ, artificiosâ compositione et eximiâ pulchritudine hoc præcellebat; denique, citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis reperiri poterat." Mr. Bentham renders the words thus, p. 22, 23: "Moreover, in the several divisions of the porticoes or isles, both above and below, he erected many," &c. What are the "divisions" of an "isle" in a church, either "above" or "below?" They seem to be the fortuitous creations of a dashing chaos in the mind. So thoroughly, indeed, was this writer in a chaos of intellect, as to the import and tendency of these descriptions, that was an architect to build, supposing any could build, this church anew upon his description, the original architect could not possibly recognise his own in it; and the whole would appear to Mr. Bentham himself, even to all the world, a mass of parts without relation to each other, a mere mockery of building, a very Babel of confusion.

§ Stowe's London, 354, 355: "Under the quire of Paul's is a large chappell, first dedicated to the name of *Jesu*,—confirmed the 37. of Hen. VI. as appeareth by his patent thereof, dated at Crowdowne—." In this patent the chapel is said to be "in a place called the *Crowds* of the cathedrall church of Paul's in London;" and a guild to be belonging to it, "which hath continued long time peaceably till now of late." But "at the west end of this Jesus chappell, under the quire of Paul's, also was and is a parish-church of St. Faith, commonly called St. Faith under Paul's, which served (as still it doth) for the stationers and others, dwelling in Paul's churchyard, Pater-noster-row, and the places neere adjoyning. The said chappell of Jesus being suppressed in the reigne of Edw. the VI., the parishioners of St. Faith's church were removed into the same, as a place more sufficient for largeness and lightsomnesse, in the yeere 1551; and so it remaineth."

“ under the great altar of the church itself, remains undemolished to this day in our cemetery, an index and a witness of the building || .”

Nor does the church of Hexham appear to have been the only one of grandeur and elegance among the Saxons. We have already seen it was not. We even see here, that Wilfrid, the prior and builder of this, had equally other minsters, “ over which he was a father and a patron,” and on which also he employed his magnificence or taste. We likewise see, that there were many other minsters in England then, as well as these, which might pretend to raise their heads in some degree of competition with it, though they could not be allowed to rival it. And we have finally that high-toned declaration repeated again in our ears, which says, “ no such [church] could then be found on this side of the Alps.” So little do we find the fame of our Saxon minster contracted, by passing from Saxon into Norman hands, that it seems rather to be enlarged by the Norman, beyond the dimensions given it by the Saxon !

I might additionally notice the Saxon minsters of York, of Rippon again, of Thorney, and of Malmesbury; all *as described by that very historian*, who has insinuated rather than asserted the churches of the Saxons to be small; and who plainly means no more, we now see, than that they were generally enlarged by the Normans *. I have thus produced enough for

|| Gale, i. 437: “ Crypta, quæ subtus majus ipsius ecclesiæ altare fuerat, ejusdem ædificii testis et index, in cœmiterio nostro hodieque indemnis perdurat.”

* Malmesbury, f. 148: “ Basilica, quondam ab Edwino rege monitu Beati Paulini in *Eboraco* facta, tecto vacabat; parietes semirut, et ruinam plenam minantes, solis nidis avium serviebant. Pro indignitate rei pontifex interno dolore commotus, materiam solidavit, culmen levavit, levatum plumbeis laminis ab injuriâ procellarum munivit,” &c. “ Sensit et *Ripis* industriam antistitis; ædificata ibi a fundamentis ecclesia, *miro fornicum inflexu, lapidum tabulatu, porticum anfractu.*” F. 168: “ Quid dicetur de ædificiorum decore,” at Thorney, “ quæ solum mirabile, quantum inter illas paludes solidum, *inconcussis fundamentis sustinet?*” Gale, i. 349: “ Fecit ergo ecclesiam. [Adhelmus]” at Malmesbury, “ eidemque alteram contiguam—, cujus nos vestigia vidimus; nam *lata* majoris ecclesiæ fabrica, *celebris et illibata*, nostro quoque perstitit ævo, *vincens decore et magnitudine* quicquid usquam ecclesiarum antiquitus factum visebatur in Angliâ. Ad hoc ergo templum exquisitius ædificandum, post *lapideum tabulatum*,” a roof of stone, as in “ *lapidum tabulatu*”

for the satisfaction of my reader, and for the purposes of my undertaking. I shall therefore cite only the attestation of this historian himself, to *this very minster of Hexham*, this queen of all the minsters in England, even of all on this side of the Alps, for judiciousness of disposition, and for fineness of fabrication. Even *he* speaks of it in these magnificent terms: "These," he cries, "the buildings raised *with a threatening height of walls*, and carried round by divers winding passages along spiral stairs, *it is wonderful how elegant he made*: doing much, indeed, *under the direction of his own taste*, but much also under the control of workmen, *whom the hope of his munificence attracted to him from Rome*. A report was then popular and very loud, which has even made its way into the page of history, that *there was no such building any where on this side of the Alps*. At present, THOSE WHO COME FROM ROME ALLEGE THE SAME; so that such as behold the fabric at Hexham, COULD SWEAR THEY HAD THE ROMAN AMBITION OF ARCHITECTURE IMAGED OUT BEFORE THEIR EYES. So much elegance is left upon the face of the buildings, after all the numerous injuries of time and war *!"

Thus

at Rippon before, "*sine ullâ parsimoniâ sumpturum [sumptuum]*, aggerabatur copia lignorum," &c.

* Malmesbury, f. 155: "Ibi ædificia minaci altitudine murorum erecta, et diversis anfractibus per cochleas circumducta, mirabile quantum expolivit, arbitrato quidem multa [agens] proprio, sed et cæmentariorum, quos ex Româ spes munificentiae attraxerat, magisterio. Ferebaturque tunc in populo celebre, scriptisque etiam est inditum, nusquam citra Alpes tale esse ædificium. Nunc qui Româ veniunt idem allegant, ut, qui Hangustaldensem fabricam vident, ambitionem Romanam se [sibi] imaginari jurent. Adeò tot temporum et bellorum injuriæ venustatem ædificiis non tulêre." This church remains in part to the present day; and the *crypt* under it was accidentally discovered in 1726. "The cathedral," says Dr. Stukeley concerning this church, "is a *large, lofty* structure in the *chancel*; but the *body* or west end, and the two towers, are entirely demolished: it was collegiate; a great building, called the College [still remains]. Between it and the church are [rather] cloisters, now a garden.—Here has been much old-fashioned painting upon wainscot and stucco, of bishops, saints, kings, and queens; but, to the loss of history, defaced. This town was undoubtedly Roman.—On the site of the cathedral once stood a Roman temple. Digging for a foundation of a buttress to be built on the west side of the steeple," and consequently within the old *body* of the church, "they opened a *vault*," the head of one of the spiral staircases, "which descends under the church," the

Thus is that very historian himself in full unison with Richard and with Eddius, in his praises of this Saxon church for elegance and for grandeur: thus does he particularly harmonize with both, in that deep bass of panegyric, the exaltation of it above all the churches out of Italy*.

SECTION

chancel of it, "to a subterraneous oratory," the crypt, originally divided into many oratories. "This place was built out of the ruins of the temple. Over the *inward* entrance to the "vault," the doorway from the landing to the stairs, "is laid flat a fine Roman inscription; "the report of which led us down thither, though *the passage to it* was as bad," as low and narrow, "as that of Poole's Hole, Derbyshire.—Over the *next* door, *lower down*," the doorway opening from the stairs into the crypt, "a large stone is set perpendicular, and half "of it cut away, in nature of an arch—. Upon the walls of the crypt, we saw many Roman "fragments of mouldings, and carved work, with bits of fluted and cabled pilasters. In "searching about the oratory," the crypt, that nest of oratories, "we found a very fine "altar, almost entire, *laid sideways into the very foundation*.—This church is a *very vene-* "rable and noble Saxon structure, and may serve for a specimen of the manner of raising "those fabrics at that time of day." (Itin. Curios. ii. 62, 63.) See also, Horsley, 247, for this crypt. Infinitely false, therefore, is that assertion of Somner's, in his account of Canterbury, i. 86; Battely's edition: "Before the Normans' advent, most of our monas- "teries and church-buildings were of *wood*,—and—upon the Norman conquest—gave "place to stone-buildings *raised upon arches*, a form of structure *introduced by that* "nation." This appears so extravagantly wild and ridiculous, after what I have proved in the text, that he who once denied all power of movement in man, or he who now *argues* his soul to be merely material, can hardly be more so. Yet the materiality of man's soul has been argued, and the power of movement in his body has been denied by Mr. Warton, in his short but much admired digression upon Gothic architecture, and in this poor echo of Somner's voice of folly. "The Normans, at the Conquest," he cries, "*introduced arts* "and civility," as aliens to the isle; "the churches, before this, were of *timber*, or other- "wise of *very mean* construction." (ii. 185, 186.) That Somner should so write, is to be pardoned; yet, that a Warton should, is unpardonable. The critic, therefore, may exclaim with Cæsar, "Et tu, Brute?" But authors, like conspirators, at times, draw in one another to the violation of all justness, and to a confederacy against all right.

* The Saxons were even so far refined, as actually to have VINEYARDS among them. A controversy, indeed, was carried on a few years ago, between two members of the Antiquarian Society, concerning the existence or non-existence of vineyards formerly in England. One of these gentlemen, Mr. Pegge, produced a multiplicity of proofs in favour of their existence; the only proofs that could be produced for an ancient incident, extracts from historical or other records, remains of names; and relics of traditions. (Arch. i. 319, 332, iii. 53, 66.) The other gentleman, Mr. Barrington, opposed this host of evidences, principally by shewing, what every one knew before, that *it might possibly be all a host of mistakes*,

SECTION IV.

MANY of the Saxon churches then were large and ample, raised upon fine models of architecture, supported by fine rows of pillars, and rearing their heads on high. But let me now apply the conviction that we have gained of this, to the elucidation of the history of our Cornish cathedral. This is also a Saxon church; but in *a part* that I *have not yet described*: and I now proceed to prove it Saxon†.

Parallel

takes, because the word *wine* has been applied to cyder, to mead, or to perry (Arch. iii. 67, 95); and, as he might, with equal propriety, have urged, to malt liquor too, the οἶνον κριθινόν, or barley-wine of some writers; and even, as good housewives could have told him, to the very fruits of the garden, the very flowers of the field, or the very sap of the trees. Yet neither of these authors found any evidence for the existence of vineyards among the Saxons; and the latter of them actually alleged the want of any Saxon term for the grape, as an argument against its Saxon cultivation (iii. 89); but the allegation is wholly untrue, the Saxons really having the Saxon terms, *Win*, for wine; *Win-berian*, for grapes; *Win-cern*, for a tavern; with *Win-britta*, for a tavern-keeper, &c. &c. Yet, to sweep away all this dust of sophistry from the face of reasoning, and to exhibit the truth in its full fairness of demonstration, let me here produce a *fact*, a SAXON fact, and produce it from the best of all historical authorities. In the Danish part of the Saxon period, says he who wrote so early as 1120, concerning *his own* monastery of Malmesbury, “eodem tempore venit ad locum quidam monachus GRÆCUS, nomine Constantinus;—hic PRIMUS AUTOR VINEÆ fuit;” not of vineyards in general among the Saxons, but of that in particular at this monastery; “quæ, in colle monasterio ad aquilonem vicino sita, FLURES DURAVIT ANNOS—: festorum dierum in orationibus consumebat ferias, cæterorum IN VINEÆ OPERE TOTAS CONSUMEBAT HORAS.” (Gale, i. 370, Malmesbury.) Here the Græcian birth of the monk, and his own working in the vineyard, prove it to have been a real one; the continuance of it for several years, shews it to have been cultivated when the Græcian was dead: and the easy mode in Malmesbury of noticing the whole, proves vineyards in general, real or genuine vineyards, to be familiar when he wrote, both to himself and to his expected readers; familiar to the Normans now, familiar to the Saxons before them: such virtue is there in this short passage!

† Mr. Bentham, who has magnified the difference of size in the Saxon and Norman churches, beyond all proportion, gives this as his grand reason: that “the Saxon churches were—frequently begun and finished in *five* or *six* years, or less time” (p. 33); while the

Parallel with the part that I have described, but longer at the western end, and very much longer once at the eastern, is the present NAVE. Nor let us, with the sensitiveness of a half-taught antiquary, shrink back at the production of the word *nave*, for a part of a church of the Saxons. It, and its cor-relative term AILES, were applied by the very Saxons, and even by the very Romans, themselves. Thus the historian of Ramsey speaks of the abbot and monks there, “on St. Michael’s day, performing the evening service, and, *according to the custom derived from antiquity*, proceeding into the *nave* of the church to their station before the cross†.” The church, also, erected by Lanfranc, at Canterbury, after the Conquest, is described by Gervase, the historian of the cathedral, as having “the body of the church *divided from its sides*, which *are called alæ*,” ailes, or wings§. But let us mount up at once to the Romans, whose alphabet formed nearly the whole of the ecclesiastical language of western Europe, and from whom, therefore, both these appellations are apparently deduced. The first church of Canterbury, says Eadmer, “was the work of the Romans, as is testified in the history of Bede; and was in one part formed upon the model of the church of the blessed prince of the apostles, Peter,” at Rome.—“To these altars was an ascent of some steps from the quire of the singers,

Normans, he adds, “laid out their whole design at first, scarcely (we may imagine) with a view of ever living to see it completed in their lifetime,” but “carried” it “on as far as they were able, and then left” it “to their successors to be completed.” (P. 33, 34.) Yet, to shew how arbitrary the assumption, and how false the assertion is, the very cathedral of Canterbury, rebuilt by Lanfranc, one, surely, of the pre-eminent constructions made by the Normans, was finished; not by his successors, but by himself; not by himself, through a long life of forty or thirty years, but in little more than the short compass only of *seven*. “*Ædificavit et curiam sibi*,” says Eadmer, his cotemporary, p. 8, Selden, “*ecclesiam præterea, quam spatio septem annorum à fundamentis ferme totam perfectam reddidit*.” Malmesbury praises him accordingly, for the very quick dispatch which he made in the work: “*ille, deturbatis veteribus fundamentis, suscitavit in ampliorem statum omnia; ignores majore pulchritudine, an velocitate, auxit enim bonæ voluntatis gloriam celeritatis industria*” (f. 118, misprinted for 122).

† Gale, i. 451: “In die—Sancti Michaelis, fratribus vespertinam syntaxim celebrantibus, et, juxta consuetudinem antiquitus usitatam, ad stationem ante crucem in navem ecclesiæ procedentibus.”

§ Twisden, c. 1294: “Corpus ecclesiæ a suis lateribus quæ alæ vocantur dividebat.”

“ which

“which—was built below *like that at St. Peter's*.” He also notices “the *nave*” or “*hall* of the church,” and “the *ails*” of it ¶. So early were ailes and a nave introduced into our greater churches, even by the Romans themselves; so invariably did they continue there, through the period of the Saxons; and so historically do we account too for the Roman appellations of nave and of ailes still remaining among us!

But the nave at St. German's originally went on, as the nave of all our greater churches went, and as the nave of the Roman church at Canterbury went also, into a QUIRE OR CHANCEL, as now called, a *presbytery*, as called by the describer of the Canterbury church, or a *sanctuary*, as called by the historian of Hexham; names, all derived equally with those, and with this the finest part of our greater churches generally, from the language, the modes, and the architecture of the Romans*. The chancel at St. German's, however, now survives only in the memory of tradition, and in one or two incidental notices of history. “A great part of” this “chancel,” notes Carew, “anno 1592 fel suddenly downe upon a Friday, very shortly after publicke service was ended” in it, public service being then kept up in the church, upon a Friday as well as a Sunday, being kept up, as it had probably been before the Reformation, within the chancel particularly, and, as instantly appears, being numerously attended by the people there; “which heavenly favour of so little respite “saved *many* persons' lives, with whom immediately before it had been

¶ Twisden, c. 1291, 1292: “Erat—ipsa ecclesiā—, sicut in historiis Bæda testatur, Romanorum opere facta; et, ex quādā parte, ad imitationem ecclesiæ beati apostolorum principis, Petri.—Adhæc altaria nonnullis gradibus ascendebatur a choro cantorum—. “Subtus erat ad instar confessionis Sancti Petri fabricata.” He then speaks also of “aulæ ipsius,” called “aula ecclesiæ” just before, called “navis” by Gervase concerning the very same church in c. 1290, and again called by Gervase “navis vel aula ecclesiæ” in c. 1293. In c. 1292, Eadmer mentions “ecclesiæ alas,” in the very same church.

* Twisden, c. 290: “Arcum sanctuarii,” for Hexham church. C. 1291, Eadmer: “Majori altari, quod in orientali presbyterii parte parieti contiguum—erat.” C. 1289-1291: “Chorus—ille gloriosus,” was consumed by fire in 1174. The monks therefore removed the bodies of Dunstan and Elphege in their coffins, “de choro extraxerunt,” and “posuerunt in navi.”

“*stuffed* †.” Such an incident, coming so near to the times of reformation, could not be occasioned by the principle, to which it has been hitherto referred; a *neglect* in the new possessors of the adjoining priory, in the new patrons of the church, or in the new clergyman nominated to the church itself ‡. It must have been the result, either of some sinking in the foundations, or some over-pressure in the roof. It was seemingly of the latter, as the consequences of the fall were removed by a reparation immediately; as “the devout charges of the parishioners,” adds Carew, “quickly repayred this ruine §.” But it was actually of the former, as the removal was only for the present, and the operative cause of all went on to repeat the injury, till it has terminated in the demolition of the whole chancel. The ground of the church and churchyard is not very dry in general; but at the south-eastern angle of the nave without, at the very point of union between the nave and the chancel, it is peculiarly wet, a large drain remaining there at present, a certain evidence of the long-prevailing moisture in the soil. This drain falls into a sewer of the house, at the eastern end of the latter: but it is so large in itself and so old in its existence, that the common people of the town consider it as

† Carew, 109.

‡ Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, 1716, ii. 150, 151: “At the dissolution,”—other parts of the church, and the chancel, have been suffered “to go to ruin, insomuch that great part of “the latter falling down,” &c. Mr. Willis's account of this church is the more to be depended upon, as he personally visited it, as he was a near relation to the Eliots at it, and as he continued for some time inspecting it. But his account is not inserted in the later editions of his *Notitia*, to the puzzling and perplexing of all who do not know that he deserted his original plan, and formed a new one. “If it be inquired,” he says in his preface to that contracted edition which he published in 1750, “why I do not proceed in the same method “that I took in my two first volumes of my *Notitia Parliamentaria*; the great expense it hath “already created me, and may farther occasion, beyond my present ability to bear, will be a “sufficient, as it is really a true, apology. It is not easy to conceive the expenses, pains, “and trouble, attending searches of this nature; and I wish I could as well continue to support that expense, as I have been hitherto free in giving my time and trouble to the public.” (P. x.) This apology is unhappily too “sufficient,” and that it is “true” reflects disgrace upon “the public.” Mr. Willis was therefore compelled to check these useful excursions in his *future* progress. He even cut off those in the past, and threw them into a distinct publication, a *History of Abbies*, in two volumes octavo, 1719.

§ Carew, 109.

a subterraneous road for the bishop from his palace to his church. Several yards higher up in the hill, and nearer to the road from the town, are some springs, which are now drawn down by pipes across the site of the chancel, and furnish the principal supplies of water to the house. This humidity, predominating at that particular end of the church, accounts decisively for the fall of the chancel; while the coæval nave still stands from the greater dryness of its site, but stands (as I shall soon notice particularly) leaning upon one side; and the south aisle continues all erect, in defiance of its greater antiquity. The nave leans to the north, the chancel therefore leaned probably the same way, and the south aisle is prevented from so leaning by having the nave upon that side. The fall too was principally where the drain now is, and where I suppose the springs to have soaked into the ground; the middle part of the chancel rearing up its walls so lofty and so sound, within these few years, as to carry a roof of slate and to be used—for a brewhouse; while the parts more remote from and the parts nearer to the nave respectively, shewed only some ragged remains of a wall on each side. All were wildly overgrown with ivy, that sure signature of the “*cruda senectus*” of antiquity in buildings. But all were levelled to the ground, and their very foundations dug up, when the whole ground adjoining to the church upon three sides, was laid not long since into a kind of lawn. Not one trace of it appears at present, and a smooth coat of grass covers all the site of that chancel, which measured while it stood, about fifty-five feet in length and twenty-four in breadth ||.

Yet it was luckily visited by Leland more than forty years before its first fall, though not (as his words seem in sound to import) even before the dissolution of the priory adjoining. In “*a towne cawled S. Ger-
mayns,*” he tells us, “—is now a priori of blake chanons,” meaning not the priory itself but the priory church, as the words immediately following shew us; “*and a paroche chirche yn the body of the same,*” as I shall soon remark to be actually the case with the church*. “*Beside*

|| Willis, 151.

* So in Leland's Itin. ii. 75, concerning Bodmin, “I saw no tumbes in the priory
[church] very notable, but Thomas Vivianes” still remaining in the church,

“ *the hye altare of the same priory [church], on the ryght hand, ys a*
 “ *TUMBE YN THE WALLE, with AN IMAGE OF A BISHOP, and OVER THE*
 “ *TUMBE A XI. BISHOPS PAYNTED with their NAMES and VERSES, as token*
 “ *of so many bishops biried there, or that ther had beene so many bishoppes*
 “ *of Cornwalle that had theyr secte [seate] theer †.*” This fact fixes the date of the chancel, and shews it to have been built with its nave, *before* the see was removed from St. German’s, and consequently (as I shall point out hereafter) *before* the Saxon empire had fallen ‡. The nave and chancel, therefore, were built by the Saxons. The nave accordingly exhibits two or three features plainly Saxon in its aspect; the pillars being massy, and the roof lofty. The whole too is a hundred and two feet in length within the walls §; and at the eastern end without, on the southern side, it has a seam of separation between it and the south aisle; which proves to our very senses, the posterior erection of that to this.

Within a little to the west of the present altar, where the screen between the nave and the chancel must once have ranged across the church, and in the north wall of the nave, is a low opening for a doorway, just covered by the wood-work in the *bak* pew, and giving admission up a spiral staircase on the other side. This is comprized within a rounded, yet angular, projection of stone in the north aisle, still mounts up within it as high as the top of a thick ledging in the wall on the southern side, and has its head-stone of an entrance into a gallery once there about five feet above the ledging. There tradition faintly reports an organ to have formerly stood. So at Padstow church in this county, which is not Saxon indeed, being rebuilt assuredly when its superior church of Bodmin was, as constructed in the same length and loftiness a little abated, is a ceiling very handsome in itself, laid out in pannels of wood, and tufted with gilt knots at the angles, over that interval between the nave and the chancel, which was filled (as tradition says) with an organ-loft, and still shews in the north aisle a doorway up to it. Nor were organs unknown in the superior churches of the Saxons. “Dunstan,” says Malmesbury, “in

† Leland’s Itin. vii. 122. See also my vi. 4, and vii. 1, hereafter.

‡ See my vii. 1.

§ Willis, 151.

“ the munificence of his spirit to many places, loved frequently to make
 “ presents of such things as were then objects of high marvellousness in
 “ England, and displayed at once the taste with the dignity of the pre-
 “ senter. Amongst these he gave” to the church of Malmesbury “ an
 “ ORGAN, in which, through pipes of brass formed upon musical pro-
 “ portions,

“ The bellows breathe the long-collected winds.

“ *There* he imprinted the following distich on the brazen pipes :

“ I, Dunstan, give this organ to the fane ;

“ May he, who robs it, ne’er to heav’n attain * ! ”

Organs thus mount up in England, as high as the reign of Edgar. On his death, adds the History of Ramsey, “ all England was disturbed, the quire
 “ of monks was turned to mourning, *the organ to the voice of lamen-
 “ ters* † .” In the reign of Ethelred his successor, a benefactor gave
 “ thirty pounds” to Ramsey “ for fabricating *organ-reeds of copper,*
 “ which were fixed into their holes within their nest in a thick row,
 “ *above one of the spiral stairs* ; were played *on festival days* with the
 “ strong breath of bellows, and uttered a most sweet melody, with a far-
 “ resounding clangor ‡ .” Even as early as about the year 680 we see
 organs so familiarly known to the Saxons, that a Mercian earl thus

* Gale, i. 366 : “ Ideo in multis loco [locis] munificus, quæ tunc in Angliâ magni mira-
 “ culi essent, decusque et ingenium conferentis ostenderent, offerre crebrò ; inter quæ,—
 “ organa, ubi per æreas fistulas, musicis mensuris elaboratas,

“ Dudum conceptas folliis vomit anxius auras.

“ Ibi hoc distichon laminis æreis impressit :

“ Organa do sancto præsul Dunstanus Adhelmo ;

“ Perdat hic æternum, qui vult hinc tollere, regnum ! ”

Dunstan even made two fine organs with his own hand : “ fecit organa—duo præcipua.”
 (Gale, i. 324.)

† Gale, i. 412 : “ Totâ—Angliâ—perturbatâ, cùm verteretur in luctum chorus mona-
 “ chorum, organa in vocem flentium.” An allusion is made to Job, xxx. 31 ; but a reference
 is plainly kept up to objects before the eye.

‡ Gale, i. 420 : “ Triginta—libras ad fabricandos cupreos organorum calamos erogavit,
 “ qui in alveo suo super unam coclearum denso ordine foraminibus insidentes, et diebus
 “ festis follium spiramento fortiore pulsati, prædulcem melodiam et clangorem longiùs re-
 “ sonantem ediderunt.”

alludes to them in his description of those joys of futurity, to which the unvitiated soul of man naturally leans forward with rapture; "as life carnally slides away to ruin, we should hasten with all our speed to the pleasant fields of unspeakable joy, where the angelic *organ* of jubilee hymnings—is taken deeply in by the ears of the blessed *." But, in the reign of Edgar, we see such a double kind of organ at Winchester cathedral, as England cannot equal even at present; this gigantic instrument having *twelve* bellows in one row above, and *fourteen* in another below, these alternately blowing with vast power, and requiring *seventy* stout men to manage them †. From the description of both the organs at Ramsey, from the seeming intimation of "such things" being then "objects of high marvellousness in England," and from the express declaration that one of them was "played on festival days;" we might infer, that organs were very rare and uncommon then, even in our superior churches. But when we mark the historian of Ramsey, describing the general grief of England for the death of Edgar, by the quires of our minster-monks being turned to sorrow, and the organs to tones of lament-

* Gale, i. 345: "Quia ipsa ruinosā carnaliter dilabitur, summopere festinandum est ad amœna indicibilis lætitiæ arva, ubi angelica hymnidicæ jubilationis organa—auribus felicium hauriuntur."

† Leland's Coll. i. 252: "Ex Epistolâ Wolstani Monachi, Præcentoris Ventanæ Ecclesiæ, ad Ælphægum Episcopum Ventanum."

"Talía et auxistis hic organa qualia, nusquam

"Cernuntur, gemino constabilita sono.

"Bissenī suprā sociantur in ordine folles,

"Inferiùsque jacent quattuor atque decem.

"Flatibus alternis spiracula maxima reddunt,

"Quos agitant validi septuaginta viri."

This poetical epistle appears from two lines subjoined to have been written as early as the reign of Ethelred, the second son of Edgar, who succeeded his father in the throne three years after the father's death:

"Regis Ethelredi visu cernente modesti,

"In regni solio qui superest hodie."

This wonderful organ, I believe, is not noticed by any other writer; yet I suppose it to have remained till the grand rebellion, when the rebel soldiers are known to have destroyed the organ of this cathedral.

ation;

ation; when we see organs alluded to two or three ages before, as making a part of the choral harmony of Heaven; and when we behold such a prodigy of an organ at Winchester, in the days of Edgar; we find them considered as equally a part of our minster-service with the quire itself, as equally a part then and now, as even constructed at times upon a scale of magnificence, to which *we* can only look up with astonishment, and in which *we* see even the mighty organ of Ulm in Germany, that portentous construction of modern times, shrink up into insignificance before this organ of Winchester, ashamed to boast any longer its *sixteen* pairs of bellows against *twenty-six*.

Nor let an obstacle occur to our progress in conviction, from the appearance of the wall, the doorway to the stairs, and the opening above them into the organ-loft at *our* cathedral. The wall, indeed, is so thick as to cover in part the very capital of the pillar immediately on the west; and therefore appears to have been formed, posterior to the plan drawn for the building, even during the very moments of erecting the wall, in order to admit the making of a doorway through it. The stairs too, which, in the mode practised at most of our greater churches, should have winded up the inside of one of the pillars, push out in an awkward protuberance into the aisle: and the *square* doorways, that are now universal among us, very extraordinarily make their appearance here; the doorway through the wall being absolutely square in the head, and the door at the top of the stairs being nearly so. Yet the whole is still Saxon. The lowness of the doorway through the wall shews it to be very ancient, as the ground can have risen so high merely from continued ages of burying there. The fondness for organs too, so peculiarly evidenced by the Saxons above, carries us of course to the constructors of the nave and aisle, for the erectors of an organ-loft in them. The stairs, indeed, were not winded in a spire within a hollow pillar, because of the danger probably that might result to the whole building from such a pillar, upon ground that I shall soon shew to be swampy all along this side of it. For the same reason probably, all idea of an organ-loft was resigned when the nave was planned; and yet was admitted again, when the nave was fabricated here. The only mode then remaining for the purpose, was what

we see to have been actually practised, to build here a solid wall of great thickness for the support of an organ-loft, to leave an opening in the wall for a doorway, and to push out a staircase upon the other side. The pillars on the west having been previously settled in their places, the thick wall necessarily came advancing forward, encroached upon the side of the nearest pillar, and usurped on the very capital of it. Nor will the squareness of the two doorways avail in impeaching their pretensions to a Saxon origin. Such doorways are not so modern as is popularly imagined.

We find one very early in England, the door into the cathedral of Ely at the west end of the cloister, where the sweep of the round arch is filled up with stones carved into figures, and the whole terminates in a right line below, supported by two heads for brackets, as well as by the interior pillar of the doorway *.

We even find another in that conventual church of Ely, which was founded so early as 673, and repaired so early as 970; the northern door there being a round arch again, filled up again with stone, though without any carving of figures upon it, and the supplement again resting in a right line, upon the interior part of the wall, as well as upon two brackets †. One great use of the square head in a door, therefore, appears to have been for filling up the concave of the arch; but to have been introduced among us in this form before the Conquest, and to have been continued in this form through all ages since; to have been continued for doors of less significance, the northern or the southern side door, or perhaps some petty doorway within, while the arch itself was retained in its full compass and orbit of grandeur, for the great or western door at the end ‡.

Yet

* Bentham, 35, plate vii.

† Ibid. 29, plate v. See also p. 54 and 74.

‡ Arch. vi. 246, refers us to "the door of an old Saxon tower of a church at Lincoln," which is a round arch filled up and made square. "There is also," adds 247, "a remarkable specimen of this kind,—even of an imitation of a species of flat transome stone across the lower part of an arch, preserved in the enriched portal of Barfreston church in Kent."

See

Yet let us not content ourselves with carrying the origin of our square-headed doors even so very high. We can prove them to be still older. In that very arch, which forms the doorway into the chapel over the Holy Sepulchre, and which we have noticed before as sharply peaked; we see the curve of the head filled up with stones, like the two at Ely before, and the peak thus reduced into a square. We also behold two windows in the chapel, that are now closed up, but were as regular squares as any of our own are at present*. We equally observe the two round arches at the grand entrance into the church, to have been filled up with stone in their sweeps, to terminate in a rectilinear "transome" "engraven with historical figures," and to rest with this upon "three" "columns of marble," composed each of three pillars, and all decorated with Corinthian capitals†. In the remains of that temple also, which is still visible in part at Nismes, which is traditionally asserted to have been Diana's, but by Montfaucon is believed from its number of niches to have been a pantheon, and was assuredly, like Montfaucon's own temple of Minerva Medica at Rome, the one as well as the other; Diana, like Minerva, being the principal divinity, yet letting other divinities share the worship with her, these placed in the shallower niches at the sides of the temple, but that with her in the two deep niches at the upper end; we see the windows all square, and its entrance reduced from an arch into a square by a transome‡. We thus find the square door, that we are so apt to date at a very low period, even just a little before our own times, to have been in use among the Romans, as early as the fourth century.

But we can actually ascend with it a couple of centuries higher, and place it in the meridian blaze of Roman architecture. In that very

See also figure XLIV. at p. 304, for a round arch in a window of Canterbury castle, equally squared with a transome stone. And in p. 377 we observe "a small door having a semi-circular arch, crossed by a transome stone in the *ancient Saxon style*," as delineated in plate LV. D.

* Pococke, ii. part i. p. 16, plate iv. No. C.

† Sandys's Travels, 125.

‡ Montfaucon, part i. ii. 3, plate 3, fig. 9, for "a section of it," and a "plan accurately delineated by the order of M. Flechier, bishop of Nismes."

Antinopolis, which gives us so clear a sight of the peaked arch, we catch an equal sight of the square doorway, and square window. Thus, immediately over the two side arches engraved in plate i. p. 84, before, are two windows opened through the substance of the wall, each an oblong square, each appearing like a superior window among the moderns, and each regularly cased with stone like a modern window. "I had a view," says Pococke, also, "of a very fine *gate* of the *Corinthian* order, of exquisite workmanship," of which he gives us a plan and upright. He thus exhibits, unconsciously to the astonished eye, a Roman gateway of the first form, consisting, like the gateway before, and like all the gateways among the Romans, of three principal parts, a middle, with two side passages; the middle very tall, yet a regularly oblong square; the side not so tall, but as regularly square, with even a modern pediment over both of them*. Even in Pompeii, which was buried with showers of ashes when Herculaneum was deluged with a torrent of lava, in the year 79; we find a private house with a square door, a square window on each side, and two square doors at a distance, leading into offices. We find also, at the temple of Isis there, and in the building over the well of it, a square doorway again, with a pediment over it. And we find at a *villa* near the town, a long arcade, ending one way in a room with a large *bow window*, in which were found fragments of *large* panes of glass; having several rooms opening with it into a garden and court, but richly ornamented with paintings, as fresh as the day they were executed; and having an open terrace above, that led to the greater apartments of the house; all, with the arcade itself, shewing only doorways square in the head, except at the two ends of the arcade, each of which presents a round arch to the eye†. And we finally find that delicate effusion of taste and genius, which cardinal Richlieu wanted to transport entire as a fine decoration even to Versailles itself, which also (as all the world must say with another cardinal, Alberoni) requires a box of gold to cover it from the injuries of the very air, and which is as probably from its elegance of form, as from its inscription conjecturally

* Pococke, i. 73.

† Arch. iv. 164, plate x.; 165, plate xi.; 171, plate xvii. The building over the well is called a temple; 166 and 173; when it was only an appendage to the temple.

recovered,

recovered, of the very Augustan age; is entered by a door from the portico, quite square in the head†. So very different does the square-headed door or gate appear, from what I myself supposed it at first; not modern, not even of the middle ages, but of the Roman period, and even of the first century in that period§.

Nor must we even stop here: the square-headed door is the first door of antiquity, derived from the first principles, and forming the first style of architecture in the world; the arch, either round or peaked, being merely a scientific improvement upon that. Thus, when man in his primitive state of simplicity, with few tools, little consideration, and no experience, came to rear for himself a house, which should afford

† See a good drawing in *A Year's Journey through France, and a Part of Spain*, by Philip Thicknesse, i. 98, edit. 3d, 1789; and a still better in *Montfaucon*, part i. ii. 18, plate 13, fig. 1. See also in the latter, *ibid. ibid.* plate 5, fig. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, and 13, for the square doorways of other temples at Rome, and various figures in plates 6-13.

§ Mr. King, the worthy, the ingenious, the judicious Mr. King, in *Arch.* vi. 237, 238, was so little apprized of this practice among the Romans, in Constantine's reign, of reducing arches into squares by the insertion of a transome stone, as to write thus: "Although there is a stone arch turned over it," he says of Connisborough castle, in Yorkshire, "*in imitation*, probably, of those which had been seen in Roman buildings; yet *the nature of such an arch seems hardly to have been understood, nor was it trusted to*; for, directly across the diameter, and *underneath it*, is placed a great *transome stone*, like a beam; and the space between it and the arch is filled up with stone-work, *as if to assist the arch in supporting the wall above.*" "The front of this fire-place," he adds, in 240—"is supported, just like the door of entrance, by a wide arch, *not trusted to as sufficient for the purpose*, but having two great *transome stones* running across under it. To *this rude imitation of the Roman arch* is joined," &c. "There is a narrow doorway," he says, in 241, "*where the arch was either forgotten or thought quite useless*, and where a *transome stone* alone covers the top of a window." "The window," he adds, in 242, "*like the doorway underneath, has an handsome arch at top, but has, moreover, just in the same manner, the assistance of a great transome stone.*" And in 246, he proceeds to shew, "*in what manner the transome was by gradual degrees left out, and the flattish under-arch substituted in its room*:" he thus inverting the very order of history, and making the stream flow back to the source. Yet, how many antiquaries, old as well as young, have triumphed at reading these passages, with a superior air of wisdom, in their own acquaintance with the mechanic powers of a Roman arch, and in the simplicity of these barbarous ages for not knowing them; when, all the while, the transome stone was used by the very Romans themselves, at times, in their own arches.

him

him the shelter that an harbour could no longer lend, against the cold of the north, or the rains of the south; he naturally framed his doorway into it, with two posts erected perpendicularly, and one laid across them. By this means he formed that square-headed doorway at once, to which, in a very extraordinary revolution of taste, modern ages have now returned with one consent. Man has gone round the whole circle of architecture, and come back at last to the very point from which the earliest ancestors of his race set out.

But let us attend to our own island, particularly: there we find this antediluvian and native *order* of architecture, actually appearing among our British fathers. The *very first* temple of the Britons, indeed, formed with *any* ideas of grandeur, that at Abury, in Wiltshire, we see to have been composed of vast rough blocks of stone reared upon their ends, lifting up their tall heads, spreading out their broad sides, but connected only by the circular figure in which they were arranged, and by the lofty mound with which they were enclosed. Yet, as soon as the idea of a *connected* edifice occurred to the minds of the Britons, we see their Abury improving into a Stonehenge; the shapeless immensity of its rocks moulded by the chisel into square columns, and one column laid upon two others, to form an entrance every where around. The square-headed doorway thus appears in the first attempt at a regular building made by the genius of Britain; and *we* are now modelling our doors, *after* all our acquaintance with Roman architecture, just as our savage ancestors modelled theirs, *before* they knew any thing of it. But in this we are partly doing what the Romans themselves did before us. The Romans used the square door and the square window occasionally, together with the peaked arch, and even with the round; and we have only carried this Roman license so far, as to use them without a mixture of either, even to the supersedence of both in our domestic buildings. So little reason have we to be startled at a square-headed door, in a building maintained to be Saxon! Such a door is primitive, is Roman, is Saxon; and has been transmitted to us through the Saxons, from the Romans, even from the very first ancestors of our whole race*.

Thus

* In Norden's drawings of Egyptian buildings, we frequently meet with the square doorway

Thus erected at first, and thus ascended from the nave, the gallery came projecting over the nave, at St. German's, while the organ faced equally, I suppose, to the nave and to the chancel. Nor was it destroyed there, I believe, by those whom we have such pregnant reasons for suspecting of such an act, those reducers of man to the abstract nakedness of his nature in devotion, though not in life, those jarring elements of our Protestant orb, those haters of all harmony, and those proscribers of all pomp in the public worship of God, the Presbyterians of the last century. It was destroyed, I apprehend, at an earlier period even by that leaven of Presbyterianism, which fermented occasionally in the very Reformation itself, did so even among the English, but swelled and heaved, and spread its sour influence with peculiar malignity, among the Scotch. *Our* fanatics were, in general, a full century behind the Scotch, in this folly of gloominess; yet, here and there shewed particular evidences of its existence among them. The position of the *bake* pew, so directly before the doorway, and, in all probability, fixed there (as I shall hereafter shew *) within a few years after the Reformation, confirms me in that opinion. The gallery, the organ, were then destroyed; both were gradually forgotten afterwards; and, at the close of nearly two centuries and a half, nothing might well remain of either, but in the faintest murmurs of tradition. These induced lord Eliot and myself, in May 1793, to explore the rounding protuberance of the north aisle. The cap of plaster at the head of it, we ordered a mason to break

way to them; but I shall notice it only in such as have some strong mark of antiquity upon them. Thus in plates cv. cvi. among the reputed ruins of ancient Thebes, we see two doors, an arcade and a portal, all square-headed. The portal even appears covered with hieroglyphics, in cix. In cxv. we have an ancient temple at Essenay, the ancient Latopolis, and the rectilinear entablature, all charged with hieroglyphics; in cxviii. at Edfu, or Apollinopolis, two doors, and both square, the massy and high kind of towers at the sides covered with hieroglyphics; in cxxxii. the ancient temple of the serpent Knuphis, upon the isle Elephantine, all loaded with hieroglyphics, and all square in the openings; in cxxxvii. a portal and a door at the isle of Phile, both square-headed; in cxli. at the isle Ell Heiff, beyond Syene, the temple of Isis, with its principal entrance, a square portal, and a square door upon each side of it; and other temples, with similar portals, or similar doors, in cliv. clv.

† Chap. iii. Sect. 3, at beginning.

open; and then, by the help of a candle introduced, he beheld the stone steps below. He let himself down through the opening; pursued the steps to their termination at the *bake* pew; found the top of the doorway nearly as high as the top of the pew, and reascended the steps to a head-stone for another doorway through the wall above; and, by taking off a very little of the wood-work in the pew, the top of the doorway appeared visible in the nave itself; the pew having been placed so hastily against the doorway, as not to admit the seemingly necessary precaution of walling or plastering up the doorway first.

But these stairs, let me farther observe, come out rounding into that northern aile, which carries all the features of a Saxon one. We have seen Richard the Norman, prior of Hexham, describing the fine church of Wilfrid there, and making Wilfrid “*surround* the very *body* of the “church with lateral chapels,” it having a south aile as well as a north. These “lateral chapels,” as I must now remark, he distinctly characterizes with the appropriate appellation of “*appenticiæ*,” appendages, penticies, or (as we have now vitiated the word), pent-houses†. He thus points out the form of the ailes in the Saxon churches, very significantly; and shews them to have been, in fact, mere penticies to the nave. Just such a building, exactly, is the north aile of this church; “low and narrow,” says Mr. Willis himself, who never thought of its Saxon origin, “and the roof slanting§,” presenting, indeed, from its low pitch and its sloping roof, the very idea of a pent-house, to every beholder.

In this view of the ages of the church, we see the nave, the north aile, and the chancel, the fabrication of the Saxons; the work of Athelstan, therefore, about 936. We thus find a church worthy of a king, worthy of an Athelstan, worthy of the conqueror of Cornwall. To this the Norman “ambition” of adding to the Saxon churches, was compelled to be content with adding only, I suppose, the octangular tower at the north-western end, with the grand portal between it and the

† Twisden, c. 290: “*Ipsam quoque corpus ecclesiæ appenticiiis—circumcinxit.*”

§ Willis, 151.

south-western tower. *That* tower, notes Mr. Willis, very justly, "is a "great ornament to the west front;" with "a very antique portal" between it and the other tower, making the whole "look very majestic "and cathedral-like*."

The portal bears above what is denominated a Catharine-wheel cross; a cross within a wheel, and what was reported by the late Dean Milles (I understand) to be a mark of the highest antiquity in any building. Yet this report, if real, only proves the confusedness of antiquarian reasoning, at times, of knowledge without accuracy, and of erudition without judgment. No symbol upon a building can prove the agedness of it, unless the symbol be not only antique in itself, but confined to antiquity. Even *if* this kind of cross be the first and earliest that was adopted, yet, if it was also continued in the ages subsequent, it will as soon prove a building to be of the last period as of the first. The fact, however, is, that this kind was not used in the first, as the cross of Constantine is a very different one†; and that this, too, was actually used in the later ages, as the portal cannot possibly be older than the church itself, yet, while the portal carries a Catharine-wheel cross, the church bears a common one just above it.

The portal is round in the arch, and has mouldings on it, either plain in themselves, or variations of the zig-zag, with a narrow band without the whole, that is now defaced much, but appears to have been formed of foliage. This, therefore, is such a portal, as from its curved concave is universally denominated Saxon by our antiquaries, yet appears either with or without carvings, to be, in fact, *derived to us wholly from the Normans*. Thus we find a portal at the western end of that cathedral of Rouen, in Normandy, which was begun about the year 990, and finished in 1063; flanked, too, like our own, by two towers; and, what is very remarkable, though a merely casual addition of coinci-

* Willis, 151.

† Described by Eusebius, in *Vita Constant.* i. 31; vol. i. p. 516, and delineated from a coin in Grævius's *Thesaurus*, x. 1529.

dence, two towers that are not uniform; even a portal at the north end of the cross-aisle, and a portal at the south end of it, each equally flanked with two towers*. We see another at the west end of the principal church in Pont-Audemer, an ancient town of Normandy; and, like our own at St. German's, with "three windows over the portal, the middle window wider than either of the two side ones;" but *that* carrying a pointed arch," and *these* shewing "round arches," while *our* arches are all round†. We find at Bourgachard, a village of Normandy, "all the windows at the west end small and narrow, having round arches," like our own; "as hath also the west door," like our own, "which is moreover adorned with mouldings," like some of ours in the zig-zag form‡. So the parish-church of St. Saviour at Caen, which is a very ancient building, exhibits a portal on the west, with a large, plain, peaked arch, and a kind of slender steeple on each side of it§. The large and magnificent abbey of St. Stephen in Caen, which was founded by William in 1064, two years before the Conquest, and of which the church was dedicated in 1077, eleven after it, has a great door at the western end, ornamented with various mouldings, and flanked with two towers§. The abbey of the Holy Trinity, in the same city, which was founded by Matilda, the consort of William, about the same time that William founded St. Stephen's, and was endowed by her with great munificence in 1082, has equally a grand door on the west, ornamented much more richly with mouldings, but flanked equally with two towers||; and the cathedral of Bayeux, which was erected in 1159, has a portal in the western end, void of ornaments, peaked in the arch, as the whole church is, and flanked by two towers¶. These instances abundantly prove the taste of the Normans, both before and after the Conquest, for portals, carved or uncarved, to the western end of their churches, and for towers to flank them. But the Temple church in London, which was finished in 1184, and consecrated in 1185**, pre-

* Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Ant. 12, 13.

† Ibid. 46.

‡ Ibid. 45, and 101.

§ Ibid. 74.

§ Ibid. 51, and 101.

|| Ibid. 63, and 101.

¶ Ibid. 77.

** Leland's Coll. i. 107: "*Templum juxta Fletestrete Londini.*—Heraclius patriarcha Hierosolymitanus consecravit, 1185; 32 H. 2. . . . *Templum vetus in Holburne Londini.*—*Collapsus est et desolatus an. 1184, 31 H. 2.*"

sents us with a western and carved portal, purely English, of the same period; thus exalts our reasoning into reality, and proves the Normans to have introduced the portal of their own country into England. Away, then, with all that ascription of our western portals to the Saxons, which has hitherto prevailed among our antiquaries, and taken away the portal at Iffley, near Oxford, the portal of St. Leonard's near Stamford*, with various others, without argument, without authority, from the Normans, their rightful proprietors! The portal of St. German's, then, was an addition made to Athelstan's church by the Normans, who also built a new tower, in order to flank the portal properly, and so render this conformable to those in their own country.

Thus formed, the tower has two arches, facing exactly as those of the other; one looking towards the other tower, and one looking up the aisle. It has also an opening high in the southern face of it, to correspond with an opening once existing, now closed up, but still apparent, at the same height, in the opposed face of the other, which must have served for a window in *this*, yet was imitated in *that*, when, from the faces of both being now brought *within* the church, it could not have served any purpose at all, but merely one of correspondency. The roof of the church, too, between the towers, over the portal, and for several yards of advance up the nave, lately carried an elevation *within*, that was visible to every eye; but because it affected the voices of the singers immediately under it, has been lately levelled by a thick ceiling of plaster; yet it carries one very visible at this moment, *without*, and forms a fall in the slating of twenty or twenty-five inches in depth, at the union of this part with the rest. We thus find an evidence addressed to the senses, of the posteriority of the portal in time to the nave, with which it is now associated; and (as I wish to remark additionally) the earth had lately grown up so high upon the sides of the portal, from the large accretion that was found there, of lime and stone used at the construction of it, that the base was buried no less than five feet six inches deep in the accumulated soil, and the damp

* Ducarrel, 101.

of this has fixed itself in such a manner upon the stones, as is probably indelible for ever. Such an elevation of the ground was evidently designed by the Normans, because they had thrown their stone and lime there at the construction of that end of the nave, and because they affected a *descent* into their churches. "The entrance," remarks Dr. Ducarrel, "is *always* by a *descent* of three or four steps; contrary to the assertion of Mr. Stavelay, that the Normans made their churches with ascents to them†." But the earth was raised still higher to the *right* and *left* of the portal, where the necessity of maintaining a road of entrance, and the desire of maintaining it in a descent, could not operate; merely from the constant repetition of burials there, and from the continual addition of human mould to the other. The ground was thus level, or nearly level, with those windows of both the adjoining towers, which are now about twelve feet above it. In the mass so amazingly heaped up at the *northern* tower, but about twenty feet from it, were actually seen, very lately, in forming a drain from the portal, five or six coffins of stone, all lying in a line at the side of the drain, and were left there undisturbed, about two feet below the *present* surface. All shews the portal to be very antique, and all proves it to be of Norman antiquity.

The portal, then, being Norman, while the nave, with its north aisle and chancel, is Saxon, we see, with *additional* lustre, to what age we must refer the only remaining part of the whole, the south aisle. This we have found, before, to have been originally one complete church of itself; to have been also constructed with a throne for a bishop in the body of the eastern wall; with a stall, supposed for his chaplain; with a doorway for his own admittance from his palace, and with an arch over

† Ducarrel, 97. The passage runs thus in Staveley's History of Churches in England, edit. 2d, 1773, p. 151: "The Saxons made theirs, generally, with *descents* into them, and "the Normans, contrarily, with *ascents*." Nor is this position, apparently false as it is, to be wondered at in a writer who, with a credit for giving good information, does so frequently obtrude upon us bad; who writes with confidence, because he writes in ignorance; who speaks frequently without authority, yet as frequently misinterprets his authority when he refers to it; who is therefore too rash, too inaccurate, too injudicious, or too ignorant, to be any longer considered with respect by real antiquaries.

a seeming tomb, to mark his own place of sepulture, in the substance of the southern. Yet, we now see it was not built by Athelstan, because Athelstan built the nave, the north aisle, and the chancel. It was, therefore, prior to them and to him: it was the church of a bishop when Athelstan built the other parts of it; when he built a church, worthy, in his ideas, to be the episcopal see of Cornwall; and when he left the prior church of the Cornish bishops, out of reverence for their memories, to stand as a south aisle for his own. It is, therefore, the very church which was erected by the Cornish, when they set up a distinct episcopate among them; the *first*, the *last* cathedral of Cornwall. But, what is very surprising, a tradition still remains at St. German's, as an intimation is also given us by Leland, uniting to confirm this conclusion, though neither the one nor the other has been yet considered, in its obvious consequences. "Before the dissolution," says Mr. Willis, "this church was, as Leland tells us, "divided in two "parts; *the great south isle*, or (as strangely denominated besides) "nave, with *a tower at the west end of it*, serving FOR THE USE OF THE "PARISHIONERS; and *the middle isle, or nave*," as if there could be two naves in one church; "together with *the low north isle, and tower at "the west end thereof*, with *the chancel or choir*, being appropriated to "THE USE OF THE CONVENT†." Mr. Willis has here reversed the natural order of things, and made that echo of history, tradition, to speak more fully than the voice itself. There is, says this voice in Leland, "a priori [church] of blake chanons, and *a paroche chirche yn the "body of the same*." This general notice is detailed by tradition, in all the ample form in which Mr. Willis details it. When Athelstan, therefore, constructed his nave, north aisle, and chancel, in addition to the episcopal church existing before; he built all for the use of the clergy, whom he attached in a college to the church, and whom he fixed in a collegiate house adjoining to it; but left the previous part of the church to the use of those, by whom it had been used before, the bishop, his chaplain, and the parish. Such a *superadded* evidence have we here, in this slight circumstance, of the great, the long-continued priority of the south aisle to the north and the nave!

† Willis, 150.

But,

But, before I conclude the chapter, let me notice three particulars of church architecture, visible at other churches, and not found at this: one is, that this has only towers, not *spires*, to it. "*Spires*," indeed, says Mr. Warton, "were never used" at all "*till the Saracen mode took place*," from the crusades. "I think we find none before 1200. The spire of old St. Paul's was finished 1221;—the spire of Norwich cathedral, about 1278. Sir Christopher Wren informs us, that the architects of this period,—"*'affected steeples'*," not *spires*, as Mr. Warton fancies him to say, "*'though the Saracens themselves used cupolas'*." But—I cannot help being of opinion that, though the Saracens themselves used cupolas, *the very notion of a spire was brought from the East*, where pyramidical structures were common, and *spiral* ornaments were the fashionable decorations of their mosques, as may be seen to this day," in their *minarets**. Thus are our spires deduced, with a seeming decisiveness, from our crusades in the East. Yet, the deduction is evidently false. We find them in Normandy, before the very crusades. The cathedral of Rouen was begun about the year 990, and was completely finished in 1063; but "the transept of the cross forms a beautiful lantern, over which stands a very lofty *spire*, three hundred and eighty feet in height, which is a great ornament to the church †." The abbey of St. Stephen's, at Caen, begun in 1064, and finished in 1077, has its west end "flanked with two towers—,each surmounted with a *spire* of remarkable height," lightness, and elegance ‡. The cathedral of Bayeux, too, erected in 1159, has its portal on the west, "flanked by two square towers, each of which terminates in a very lofty *steeple*;" the author means a *spire*, as his very plate shews§. And the remains of the Conqueror's palace at Caen, in which (according to tradition) he entertained with a sumptuous banquet his own mother, on her re-marriage to the Count de Conteville, many years before the Conquest, appears still to have five slender turrets at its sides, *all topped with short spires* ||. These are plain proofs of the existence of spires, long before the crusades. Spires, therefore,

* Warton on Spenser, ii. 195, 196, from Wren's Parentalia, 305.

† Ducarrel, 12, 13.

‡ Ibid. 50, 51, and plate.

§ Ibid. 97, 98.

|| Ibid. 59, plate.

came not from the Saracens to us; nor yet did they come from the Normans. They were in Normandy before the Conquest indeed, and they appear in England soon after it. But they came to both from one common fountain of all refinement in general, and of architecture in particular, Italy; the very term by which we distinguish this pyramidal kind of steeple, being merely (as the judicious Skinner observes) the “Italian *“ spira, pyramis, turris fastigiata.”* Nor is the term solely Italian. It is equally Latin, though in this signification not classical; distortedly bending to import “a round pyramid,” as Johnson observes concerning the derivative English, “—perhaps because a line drawn round and round in “less and less circles, would be a spire.” Accordingly, in that very curious because very ancient view of Rome, which is given us in the *Notitia*, the only perspective indeed that we have of this imperial city, the other view of it on the pavement of a temple at Rome being merely a ground-plan *; amid much indistinctness of vision, yet with a prominent view of the Pantheon, we behold two tower-like buildings, actually *surmounted with round pyramids*, behold an apparent church just without the walls having a tower *with a short blunt spire* to it, even again behold within the walls the apparent tower of a church, *shooting up into a tall spire*, and *carrying a cross on the top of it* †. All shews the use of spires among the Romans, very satisfactorily. But in the *Notitia* is a perspective of another city, Achaia being delineated as a female personage with her proper attributes, and in the back-ground of the picture appearing a view of a city, Corinth assuredly, the capital of the province; in which the loftier buildings only are seen of course; but out of five towers that are seen, three *seem to have short spires*, and two have *spires as tall, as taper, as conspicuous, as any of our own* ‡. I thus account for the present use of spires, among ourselves and among the Saracens, derived equally to both from the Greeks through the Romans; beginning among ourselves particularly at the same time with towers to our churches, though much rarer probably in their use; and continued by the Saracens, not innovating certainly in *all* points, as they have been wildly supposed to be, even retaining Roman mosaics, even copying Roman grotesques, even

* Grævius, iv. 1954.

† Pancirollus at the beginning.

‡ Ibid. 70.

copying all the *singularities* of their architecture, *perhaps* from the *Egyptians*, with that very invention of the *Greeks*, an arch §.

Another deficiency at St. German's is a form of internal disposition in our parish-churches of Cornwall, which is retained by many of the old among us, which I hear to be still retained equally by some in Devonshire, but which I have never found noticed in any either here, or there, or elsewhere. The churches consist in their original state of a single aisle generally, and of a *projection running at right angles from it*; that constituting the body of the church, and this composing *the lord's chapel*. The projection exists large and striking in my own church, in that of Veryan, that of Philley, that of St. Ewe, and in those of Lamorran, St. Just, Tregoney, &c. But then the projection, being now or formerly enclosed with rails as a chapel, and having only a direct view across the body of the church; an opening was made through the substance of the wall upon one side, to give the family kneeling in the chapel a view of the altar. This opening has been closed again, in some churches; as at Veryan it appears to have been filled up, when the chapel was converted into a belfrey, and what was a belfrey before became a porch to the church. At Tregoney the opening for sight has been enlarged into a gallery for access towards the altar, by tearing down the wall, rebuilding it with a tall arch, and forming a low avenue into the chancel under a wall sloped out into the churchyard. At Truro likewise the chapel has been destroyed for the construction of a northern aisle; only the western part of its partitioning wall has been left, with its arch of entrance on the east; low, indeed, in its pitch, yet not lower than the side-door on the south; and the upper half of this arch is left open for the common people, who now sit where the family of the lord once sat, to see the pulpit on the opposed side of the church, and to hear directly the clergyman preaching from it. But in other churches, particularly my own, this opening remains as it was originally, a mere avenue for the eye to-

§ Swinburne in Spain, i. 288; 280, plate; and Pococke in Egypt, i. 215, 220. Compare the pillars and capitals in the former, i. 280, with those in the latter, i. 216, 217. The very *minarets* are structures between towers and spires, being spires in form but towers in fact, as men stand on them, and proclaim the hours of prayer.

wards the altar; not large, but rounding, about the height of the head to a kneeler, and pointing immediately to the altar. All these circumstances unite to mark its designation; to shew it calculated for presenting a view of the priest at the altar, in the act of elevating the sacramental elements, for the invoked consecration of them by the Holy Ghost. This elevation was at once primitive, popular, and proper, being still traceable in all the liturgies of the primitive church *, being retained for many ages afterward, and appearing strictly proper in itself, when material substances were to be made the awful conveyancers of spiritual benefits, and the Holy Spirit was supplicated to make them such. We even see the practice more plainly, in an accidental intimation given us by Florus, the very ancient enlarger of Bede's Martyrology, from the still more ancient acts of a bishop in the days of *Constantine*; of whom it is said, that "at the hour of breaking celestial bread, *when, according to the sacerdotal custom, he with elevated hands offered up the Host to the Third in the Godhead for his benediction,*" &c. †. The usage, indeed, was retained among us till the Reformation, when the first liturgy of our Edward, in 1549, preserved the prayer of oblation, but ordered it "to be sayed *turning still to the altar, without any elevation, or,*" as the order usefully adds in reference to our present point, "*shewing the sacrament to the people* ‡." A little before this event had Truro church been built, and a little after this must Tregoney have been altered. Truro church is of the elegant sort of Gothic which took place among us in the reign of Henry VII., and which, perhaps, might be wished to have still continued among us, as happily uniting the solemn solidity of the Gothic with the luminous lightness of the Roman. Accordingly, in that window of the south, which is the third from the east, is an express date of 1518: yet this church, though so late, had its chapel, and consequently its opening; *that* now superseded by the end of the new aisle, *this* now screened from

* See a Collection of the principal Liturgies, used by the Christian Church in the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist; with a Dissertation upon them; by Thomas Brett, L. L. D., 1720, p. 9, 17, 45, &c. of the Liturgies; p. 103, 104, of the Dissertation.

† Bede, 418: "In horâ confractionis panis cœlestis, dum de more sacerdotali hostiam elevatis manibus Tertio Deo oblatam benedicendam offerret," &c.

‡ Brett, 134, of Liturgies.

view by plastering and by monuments ; because the elevation was still continued. But at Tregoney the opening was changed into an avenue, because the elevation was now forbidden. Previously to this the elevation had been considered as an act of peculiar solemnity in the very solemn service of the eucharist, as what peculiarly tended

To swell the pomp of *dreadful sacrifice*.

“ I believe,” says a poet, a critic, and a Protestant, “ few persons have “ ever been present at *the celebrating a mass* in a good choir, but have “ been affected with awe, if not with devotion §.” Yet what is the *most* affecting part of the whole, let his own anecdote proclaim. “ Lord “ Bolingbroke,” adds the same author, “ being present at this solemnity “ in the chapel at Versailles, and seeing the archbishop of Paris *elevate the* “ *host*, whispered his companion the marquis de *****, ‘ If I were king “ of France, I would always perform this ceremony myself || .” To see this act therefore, was sure to be the wish of all in the congregation ; yet was denied to the very family of the lord himself, from the very position of his chapel. To retain the position, but preclude the denial, the wall of the chapel was left open near its union with the church, and a visto was formed for the eye to the altar. Such a visto must once have been universal in and out of Cornwall, where the lord’s chapel so projected from the parish-church : and, as the projection was not confined to Cornwall, the visto (I hear) is still to be found in Devonshire : yet even in Cornwall it is vanishing away, and has never been noticed by the antiquaries of church-architecture before. At St. German’s and all the larger churches, it cannot appear, because they have no lord’s chapel at all. It can appear only in those that have one, and that have one forming (as it were) a single arm of a cross to the church.

The third deficiency at St. German’s is more imaginary than real ; yet has been reported so confidently for real, as to demand my particular notice here, in order to clear up confusion, and to rectify erroneousness, even with those very antiquaries through whom I receive much of my in-

§ Warton’s Essay on Pope, i. 325, edit. 2d.

|| Ibid. 325, 326.

formation.

formation. These have been long proclaiming to the world, and proclaiming with a tone of authority seemingly just, that such an entrance as our own into the church was denominated the *PARVIS* among our ancestors. Yet whence could an appellation, so strange to our ears, and so perplexing to our understandings, be derived? Not from *paradise* undoubtedly, as Spelman in a high fever of fancy dreams, and dreams forsooth! because the porch is to the church what paradise is to heaven ¶; not “a *parvis* pueris” there taught, as Watts, in a paroxysm of learning run mad, affirms*. It resulted from a circumstance in the internal disposition of our churches, that is rarely found at present, that is equally with the name unknown at St. German’s, but was naturally characteristic enough to attract a particular title once.

The *parvis* in the church was plainly a school; as a poor clerk of France, says M. Paris under 1250, was forced to drag on “a starving life in the *parvis*, keeping a school, and selling petty books †.” It thus formed such a part of the building, as we still see in some churches of Normandy; the portal “at the north end of the cross aisle” in Rouen cathedral, being to this day “called Le Portail des *Libraires*,” or the porch of the *booksellers*; not, as has been surmised, “from its opening into a place where “formerly stood several booksellers’ shops,” but, as the name and the history unite to shew, from its being the scene of such portable shops itself ‡. Such shops we see still continued in the streets of London, by men who shew us in lively portraits the originals of all our stationers, with their rubric posts, at present. We see them still nearer to the level of those, in the humbler stationers attending after dinner at the halls of our colleges in Oxford, ranging out their libraries of a score of pamphlets upon the ground, and carrying off their unsold stocks in the package of a basket. Thus did the name of *parvis* become the hereditary and statutable distinction at Oxford, for what in common language we denominate the Schools there; those places of exercise for the literary

¶ Spelman: “Contractè a Lat. Paradisus,—i. e. atrium ecclesiæ.”

* Watts, Glossarium to his M. Paris: “A *parvis* pueris ibi edoctis.”

† Paris, 690: “Scholas exercens, venditis in *parvisio* libellis, vitam famelicam.”

‡ Ducarrel, 13.

genius of that university, in which this eagle beats his young pinions and strains his young eyes, for a flight towards the noon-day sun of learning.

Equally transferred was the name of *PARVIS*, as Watts in a moment of more sobriety thinks, to those scholastic exercises of young lawyers, which were formerly termed moots, as the cases proposed in them were termed moot-points §. But, as the fact appears undeniably to have been, the very place that was the station of these booksellers, was equally made a court of judicature, like Westminster Hall at present, and all the serious warfare of the law was prosecuted in it. This we see by reflection from that only mirror, which

Catches the manners living as they rise,

which retains them faithfully upon its surface afterwards, and is always exhibiting them to the attentive eye; the allusive language of our ancestors. Thus a serjeant at law, now our highest dignitary in the scale of acting lawyers, but formerly (as the name shews) a mere apprentice to the trade of law, is thus complimented by Chaucer for his knowledge and experience, as actually the highest dignitary *even then*:

A serjeant at law ware and wise,

That often had been at the *parvise* ¶.

But Fortescue, that grave and learned judge, speaks exactly in the same tone of language with the comic bard; describing those who had any "pleas" or suits in the court, as "going away to the *parvis*, and there consulting with their *serjeants at law* or other counsellors ¶." Both these notices intimate the high consequence of this court in the portal, the general resort of the people to it, and the great abilities of the lawyers in it. Yet all seems to have vanished from the page of history, and to have

§ Watts: "Etiam et in collegiis jurisperitorum nostratium, exercitium sive colloquium studentium juniorum *the parvise* vocabatur, quod nunc *moot* dicimus."

¶ Watts was the first who cited these lines, and he cites them from Chaucer, Prolog. 9.

¶ Watts from Fortescue, cap. 51: "Placitantes tunc se divertunt ad parvisum, consulentes cum servientibus ad legem et aliis consiliariis suis." Staveley, 159, turns the plea into pleadings, and so mars the meaning.

left not a trace behind. But that it has so left or so vanished, is only the vision of idleness, unwilling to exert itself in inquiries, and therefore hanging lazily over supposed vacuity.

There is a passage in one of our ancient historians, a private, a local historian, and consequently more an historian of manners than a public, a general one; which comes up to the height of both these notices, satisfactorily accounts for them both, and so lays open a point new but striking, very curious but very important, in the economy of our ancient constitution. "Of two towers at the middle of the length" of Canterbury cathedral, says Eadmer in his description of it just after the Conquest, "one on the *south* had in its side the principal door of the church, "which door is *often mentioned by name* in the *laws* of our *ancient* kings; "by which laws it is decreed, that even *all suits of the whole realm*, which "cannot be *legally* determined in *hundred* or *county* courts, or *certainly* "decided in the *king's own court*, must have their determination *here* as "in the *highest court of the king* *." This is a declaration, amazingly pregnant

* Gervase, 1292, Twisden: "Sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius duæ turres erant,—
"quarum una, quæ in austro erat,—habebat—in latere principale hostium ecclesiæ;—quod
"—in antiquorum legibus regum suo nomine sæpe exprimitur; in quibus eciam omnes
"querelas totius regni, quæ in hundredis vel comitatibus, uno vel pluribus, vel certè in curiâ
"regis, non possent legaliter diffiniri, finem inibi, sicut in curiâ regis summi [summâ], sor-
"tiri debere discernitur." These words were not understood by *him*, who first produced
them as relative to the *parvis*; Staveley rendering them thus in 160, "That all the differences
"in the hundreds were there determined, as in the king's court." But Selden, who had pro-
duced them before without any reference to the *parvis*, saw their import thoroughly, and cries
out with amazement at it; "Impensè miranda est jurisdictionis heic prodigiosa amplitudo,
"nec sane minor, ut verba sonant, quàm si dixisset summum ibi, quoad causas etiam totius
"regni omnimodas, imo et regiis superius, tribunal archiepiscopale ibi locum tunc habuisse
"idque *in legibus*, quas diximus, *discerni*. Res quidem aliunde perquam inaudita, et juri
"apud majores nostros, tum regio tum populi, quale tunc et semper postea viguisse recipi-
"tur, undiquaque dissona." (P. xlv. xlv. Præfatio to Twisden.) Yet Selden does, as every
man of sense must do. He believes the account, however extraordinary, upon the credit of
an historian so grave and so faithful; he cited Eadmer: "Adeò fidelis tamen ac gravis mihi
"scriptor est Eadmerus." He says, (p. xliii.) "ut de re ipsâ—dubitare nequeam." But
"quonam in opusculo scripserit hoc Eadmerus, mihi nondum constat. Certè nec in historiâ
"ejus

pregnant with intelligence and novelty. The judicature of the church appears evidently to have been *the high court of chancery* then in the kingdom. "All suits of the whole realm," which either could not be determined in the courts of the hundred or the county, as courts having not a legal competency of jurisdiction over them, or could not be finally decided in the king's bench of the day, were decided and determined in that "highest court of the king," which was held in the southern portal of Canterbury cathedral, and therefore had the archbishop undoubtedly presiding in person at it †. For this reason it is noticed equally by a bard and by a judge, *that* speaking the language of the multitude, but *this* the language of the law; as the grand court of appeal to the whole nation, as the grand court for numerousness or selectness of lawyers, as therefore the natural representative of all the courts.

Yet at what period did commence, and in what period did conclude, this very extraordinary judicature, which has so long lain hid from our eyes in the clouds of our own ignorance, or in the fumes of our own incuriousness? It commenced undoubtedly with the very commencement of Saxon Christianity, and it concluded not for four ages after the Conquest. Mentioned by Eadmer about the year 1100, without any note of its diminished authority; we find it about the year 1250, still existing at Canterbury, still appearing as a grand court of appeal, and still attended by a number of counsellors. Petrus Blesensis, a chaplain of the archbishop's, and archdeacon of Canterbury, yet *living regularly in the palace with the archbishop*, during the life of Becket; in some epistles which he published speaks incidentally of "a college even of counsellors flourishing there," and "of himself a considerable member of it," probably therefore in the very palace of the archbishop; adding, that "*all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred to us ‡.*" So strongly has the

"*ejus novorum, nec in Anselmi Vitâ—reperitur. Suspicio equidem S. Wilfridi archiepiscopi Eboracensis Vitæ, ab eo conscriptæ, illud esse insertum. Vitam illam nondum vidi.*" (P. xlii. xliii.)

† Hence Selden calls it "tribunal archiepiscopale."

‡ Selden, p. xlv.: "Collegium ibi florere ostendit etiam juris-consultorum, quorum ipse magna pars, et 'omnes,' inquit, 'quæstiones regni nodosæ referuntur ad nos'." But, as Selden

the sun of history shone upon the court, without illuminating the darkness of it to the blind optics of our antiquarian critics! The court continued even to the days of Chaucer and of Fortescue, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; with a high degree of brightness beaming around its head, yet all wrapt up in a thick gloom to the dim eyes of antiquarianism. Thus the island of Madeira appeared for a long time to an adjoining isle, a mere cloud of darkness, impenetrable to the rays that shewed it rising up from the sea, and reaching as high as heaven; when all the while it was only a mountainous land, with a thick wood upon it. Selden at last saw and confessed the court, but stared at it for a prodigy; just as that island, on a nearer view, was thought to be peopled by monsters.

Yet still how came this court, so visible, though so unseen for ages, to be denominated the *PARVIS*? The same historian, who exhibits the court itself in such magnificent colours, will help us to explain the name. The door at which the court was held, he tells us, “was *anciently*, and “*even now* is, denominated by the English the *southern* door—; but “another tower has been built on the *northern* side, *opposite to the former*, “having the *cloysters*, in which the monks conversed, ranging about the “sides of it,” and consequently with a door opening into them. “In the “*former*, forensic suits and secular pleas were prosecuted; but in the “*latter*,” as the author astonishingly proceeds to lay open the very school of the portal with which he began, “the more adult monks,” *not* “children” therefore §, *not* “*parvi pueri*,” either clerical or laical, as has always been hitherto supposed, but solely “monks,” solely “adults” among them, and solely “the more adult” of the number, “were *trained* “*up night and day by turns*,” not in the common, the secular principles of literature, but, as better became men preparing for orders, “in *learn-*

Selden remarks, “*degebat Petrus ille ut minister ac famulus, etiam et archidiaconus, Cantuariensis, in ædibus archiepiscopi illius; quod vitæ genus omnino aulicæ tunc erat splendissimumque.*”

§ Staveley, 157: “There was a certain part of the church anciently called the *parvis*, “that is, a—part of the church set apart and used for the teaching of *children* in it.”

“*ing the offices of the church* ¶.” We thus find the school and the court very fortunately united together in one church. Yet let us not leave this northern *door*, as it is so very important in our intended explanation of the name, to the seeming dubiousness of an inference; when we can prove its existence at once. “In 1299, the 9th of September,” says another historian, “Robert archbishop of Canterbury celebrated the espousals between king Edward and Margaret, sister to the king of France, at that door of Christ-church in Canterbury, which is towards the cloyster ¶.” That marriages were made at the church-door formerly, was well known to antiquaries; but no antiquary has yet produced this illustrious passage in proof of the point. The two doors therefore were like the two towers in which they were “opposite” to each other. The space between them, we see, had a school or “parvis” at one end, and a court or “parvis” at the other, not kept in the same portal, as has been always believed, and as I believed myself when I began my researches, but at two portals directly opposite. A *visto* was thus formed for the eye across the breadth of the church; and this *visto* is what the Normans expressed by *par-vis* or *seen-through*, just as *vis-à-vis* signifies any thing opposite at present, and as a small carriage, holding two persons opposed to each other, is denominated a *vis-à-vis* among ourselves. Here then is the mighty mystery dissolved, that has hung so long like a spell upon the name of PARVIS for

¶ Gervase, 1292: “Antiquitus ab Anglis, et nunc usque, *Suthdure* dicitur;—alia verò turris in plagâ aquilonali, e regione illius, condita fuit,—claustra in quibus monachi conversabantur hinc inde habens. Et sicut in aliâ forenses lites et secularia placita exercebantur, ita in istâ adolescentiores fratres in discendo ecclesiastica officia, die ac nocte, pro temporum vicibus instituebantur.” So the most westerly part of the church at Glastonbury is said by tradition to have been appropriated for the education of some who are denominated children; but these appear to have been young monks.

¶ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 51: “Anno MCCXCIX. v. Id. Septembr. archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Robertus celebravit sponsalia inter prædictum regem Edwardum et Margaretam sororem regis Franciæ, in ostio ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis versùs claustrum.” By this door Becket went from his palace into the church, followed by his murderers. “In *claustrum* monachorum cùm venissemus,” says one of his attendants, “voluerunt monachi *ostiam* post eum accludere,” but he would not permit them; “intratum est in ecclesiam istam; iturus ad aram superiùs,—jam quatuor gradus ascenderat, cùm ecce! ad *ostium* claustrum—adest,” &c. Sparke, 85, Vita S. Thomæ.

a part

a part of our churches, and defied all the wizard powers of antiquarianism ! It signifies solely a visto through the church. It was not confined therefore to the porch, even to the lower end of the church at large, as has been always asserted, and always believed, hitherto *. We see the visto at Canterbury cathedral across the *middle*. The *parvis*, however, was frequently at the western end of the church, and consequently without any visto at all ; even extended with the crowds repairing to it as a court, and communicated its name to an enclosure appendant to this end. Thus at the only church in Normandy, in which I know the appellation of *parvis* to be still retained, it is retained only by this appendant part ; as at Rouen, “ adjoining to the west end of the cathedral, is a large “ square piece of ground, enclosed with a stone wall,” the *atrium* of the church at this end, and therefore “ called to this day *parvis* or *aitre* †.” From *this* position it is, that *parvis*, in the *present* language of France, signifies *not* a visto through a church, *not* a portal at the end of it, but merely a place before a portal. And thus at last we find the appellation, which has been wildly attached to *most* of our churches, and wildly affixed to the western portal of them, incident only to such as had a visto across their breadth, affixed only to *one* church in fact through all the kingdom, and from its attachment to the school with the court of this, lending itself through the celebrity of its school to the Schools at Oxford, even diffusing itself with the splendour of its court over all the kingdom ‡.

* Watts: “ Sane aliquando pars quædam in inferiore navi ecclesiæ—the *parvis* dicebatur.” Staveley, 159, 160: “ Most churches, especially the greater ones, have a north door and a “ south door towards the nether end of the church, and one of them just opposite to the “ other, whereby a passage or thoroughfare is made through that part of the church—; now “ the lowest part of the church next to the doors, was called the *parvis*.”

† Ducarrel, 13: *Aitre* at present signifies the *closet* of a house, but (as the analogy tells us) of a closet *projecting over the atrium*, and *thence* of any room of a house. When we once discover the *radical* idea, we thence trace the *ramifications* with certainty.

‡ Staveley, 160, 161, refers to Simeon Dunelmensis, 35, Twisden, for a court similar to that at Canterbury. But Simeon’s court is only similar, as being in a church. It was in a country church, “ non longè ab urbe—ecclesiam ;” and it was a court merely occasional in itself, because unexpected by the priest, the periodical court of a manor.

CHAPTER THIRD.

SECTION I.

IN the preceding account of the Saxon churches, we see underground chapels, or (as they were then called at times) porticoes, belonging equally with “*appenticiæ*” or side-chapels to them. We may see them again in Wilfrid’s church at Rippon, as described by Malmesbury himself, where the church is said to have been “built by him from the foundations, with a wonderful bowing of arches, a roofing of stones, and a winding of porticoes,” or underground chapels*. These also appear, though the circumstance has never been noted by any writer hitherto, to have been constructed originally for *CONFESSIONALS*. The first church of Canterbury, that which was built by the *Romans*, says Eadmer the only describer of it, had “an ascent of some steps from—what the *Romans* call a *crypt* or *confessional* ;” and this, he adds, “was built below like the *confessional* of St. Peter’s” in Rome†. “There was,” says the same author concerning a church on the continent, a certain *crypt*—, “which, according to custom, obtained the name of a *confessional* ‡.” The shadiness of an undercroft seems peculiarly calculated for a work, at which our Protestant prejudices are apt to start away into suspicions and surmises ; into suspicions of what abuses *may* be engrafted upon it, and into surmises of what actually *are*. Yet as an exercise of casuistry, as an

* Malmesbury, f. 148 : “*Ædificata ibi a fundamentis ecclesiæ, miro—fornicum inflexu, lapidum tabulatu, porticum anfractu.*”

† Twisden, 1291 : “*Nonnullis gradibus ascendebatur a choro cantorum, quam criptam vel confessionem Romani vocant ; subtus erat ad imitationem confessionis Sancti Petri fabricata.*”

‡ Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 195 : “*Cripta quædam erat—, qui locus confessionis nomen pro more obtinuit.*”

act of private monition, and as an operation of personal remonstrance, it is found abroad to be expedient in itself; though (equally with all other exertions of authority) it is certainly liable to much abuse, subjects the clergy to much trouble in the matter, and exposes the clergy to much censure in the manner. It was *therefore* directed to be performed at first within the walls of the church, in order to throw a greater sanctity over the deed; but within the chapels of the crypt, in order to give a greater privacy to it. Nearly so, within the remains of that fine dilapidated mansion of the Tregyons at Golden in Cornwall, which was in building at the very period of Leland's visit into the county §; upon the left side of the gateway is the chapel, but on the right what tradition reports to have been the chaplain's apartment, and within it a small room half underground, with no light into it except through the opened door, and with two stone seats in it, reported equally by tradition to have been the *confessional* of the family ||. And in the nunnery at Littlemore near Oxford, where "the chapel is now standing," with "the nunnery itself, at least a very great part of it, all rebuilt in the reign of Henry III.; amongst other rooms of the nunnery there is one above stairs, all dark and entire, which is that in which the nuns used to make their confessions to their ghostly father *." I thus account for a *sub-struction*, that has long perplexed all our antiquaries; and account for it in a manner peculiarly suggested by its nature, as well as historically true in itself †.

But

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 28: "Mr. Tregyon hath a maner place richely begon and amply, but not ended, caullid Wulaedon aliàs Goldoun."

|| I owe this intimation to the late vicar of Probus, the Rev. Mr. Seccomb.

* Itin. ii. 152.

† "I happened to be present," says one, "whilst the service was read in the French language," at the Wallon church of Canterbury; "but though the day was bright, it was *difficult to distinguish the countenances* of those who were present." (Arch. viii. 445.) The author then mentions the crypt under St. Paul's. "A third instance of such a subterraneous church," he adds, "is to be found in the cathedral at Glasgow. Now it so happens, that each of these crypts are [is] situated under *the choirs* of their respective cathedrals." Yet where should they be, but under the *most elevated* part of the cathedrals? "Erasmus says," as another tells us of the Canterbury crypt in Arch. x. 46-48, "that the eastern part" of the crypt "being somewhat obscure, till lights were brought he could not view to advantage the elegant chapel of the Virgin Mary" there. The writer therefore

assigns

But Athelstan constructed no undercrofts to his church, for a reason of a striking nature. When the Britons of Cornwall first fixed a church upon the site, they did as the Britons and Saxons of Cornwall equally do to this day, overlook all fear of dampness in the predominating dread of winds: they therefore chose a ground sheltered from the winds, though it was moist in itself, for the position of their church; and the Saxons chose another more moist but more sheltered, even the site below the church, for their college. Accordingly a drain has been found requisite by lord Eliot, as I have hinted before, to run from the northern tower and along the churchyard, in order to draw off the natural moisture of the ground, and divert it from the church. My lord has even found his house, the Saxon college, from the door westward nearly up to the end of

assigns a reason for the darkness, which is none at all; that this crypt was "designed to have a constant communication with the vaults" more easterly, and *might* therefore have been enlightened from them. Even supposing that to have been once designed and then omitted, of which this author gives no proof at all; yet the question still recurs, and the answer is still wanted, why the darkness was not removed by some new expedient. "The French church is, however, less lightsome than it was formerly, in consequence of the ground without it being considerably raised." This reason can have had only a slight influence, as we see the darkness of the place in the days of Erasmus. Even our author acknowledges it afterwards to have been so dark from the first, as hardly to admit the celebration of service by the light of day, and therefore to have wanted the assistance of lamps. "In these crypts," he concludes, "there *might*, in *general*, be light sufficient for the celebration of divine rites; and, in compliance with the superstition of the age, there were lamps burning at the several altars." The intimation is annihilated by the assertion; and, if lamps were wanted, there *was not* daylight sufficient. Yet, what shews the assertion *not* to be true, we have just seen even "the elegant chapel of the Virgin Mary" there, too dark to be viewed by daylight, and requiring lights to be brought. We see also again in the much earlier days of Becket, that "the crypt had many turnings in it, and *most of them gloomy*." (Sparke, 86: "Crypta—, in quâ multa, et pleraque tenebrosa, diverticula.") And the crypt of St. Peter's at Rome, the very model or pattern of our original crypt at Canterbury, is so very dark at this moment, "that there is no seeing any thing without the light of a torch." (Keysler's Travels, translated 1760, ii. 260.) "To the crypts under the choirs of cathedrals specified" above, finally remarks our author, "may be added that at Rochester, constructed by Gundulph." But Leland tells us of another under Winburn minster, as "the *cryptes* in the est part of the chirch is an old peace of work." (Itin. iii. 86.) At Exeter also we find "*cripta ejusdem ecclesiæ*," the cathedral. (Monasticon, i. 221.) And at Bristol we find two churches with crypts. (Leland's Itin. vii. 90.)

his gallery there, built upon piles driven into the mud of the sea-beach; though from that door eastward, all along the eastern end of the house, it was raised upon a rock. And every eye may discern, what shews the swampiness of the ground along this side of the church, in the strongest light, that the *northern* arches of the nave have all gone off from their perpendicular, are now leaning a little toward the house below, and, if the northern aisle with its buttresses did not check the tendency, would lean considerably. Yet we cannot believe these buttresses to have been raised by the Normans, for shoring up the then inclining nave. We find, indeed, at the ancient royal abbey of St. Audoen in Normandy, that “the walls of this church are eased on the outside by thirty-two *arc-boutants* or buttresses, placed at equal distances, and so contrived as not “in the least to impede the light from piercing the windows*.” We see also buttresses between the windows, at the ancient palace of the Conqueror in Caen, and at the cathedral church of Bayeux†. We even seem to have borrowed the very appellation of buttresses from the Normans of France‡. Yet, however *this* may be true and *that* is certainly so, the use of buttresses is very ancient among us. We behold them at the north aisle, coæval undoubtedly with the aisle and the nave. We see them again at the south aisle, equally coæval with the aisle itself, used therefore by the Britons of Cornwall in the seventh century, and received by them with all their architecture from the Romans themselves§. And

* Ducarrel, 27.

† Ibid. 59 and 78.

‡ The name comes to us, I believe, from a word no longer-existing in the language, yet leaving its family of words behind it; *arc-boutant* a buttress, because buttresses used to terminate, as they still terminate at times, in a half-arch; *aboutir* to border or abut upon, *aboutissement* bordering or abutting upon, *boutisse* a stone laid across, *boutoir*, *bute*, a farrier's buttress. Buttresses seem to have been used originally, at the *end* of buildings. Hence are derived the French ideas above, and our own of the *butt* end of any thing. The earliest mention that I have noticed of buttresses in our island is this, concerning lateral, not final, buttresses, even some at the angles of a tower: “*Turris manerii de Howndesdon per iiii miliaria de Woar villâ,*” Ware in Hertfordshire; “—in quolibet latere dictæ turris sunt vii “*botrasses magnæ latitudinis.*” (*Itineraria—Wi. de W. p. 89.*)

§ The term in Saxon was probably *spur*, and in British *spor* (I.), still used for a shore or prop among our builders; just as *eperon* is used by the French at present.

the inclination of the arches has been gradually growing, from the erection of them by Athelstan to the present moment ¶.

Yet though Athelstan, for the swampiness of the soil, built no *porticoes* or underground chapels; he raised his *pentices* for confessionals. *These*, equally with *those*, were always separated from each other and from the nave by walls. A separation from the nave, however, is a circumstance unknown to all our critics in church-architecture: but it is very apparent, in the report of history, and in the view of remains. Wilfrid, in building the church at Hexham, says the Norman describer of it, “surrounded the very body of the church with *pentices* and porticoes on every side, *which he—separated by walls* *.” In the choir of Conrad that was raised at Canterbury, says Gervase, “there was a wall, which divided the body of the church from those sides of it that are denominated *ailles* †.” “There were,” adds Shaw in his description of Elgin cathedral, “porticoes or *to-falls* on each side of the church, eastward from the traverse or cross, which were eighteen feet broad *without* the walls;” and there was, “besides the great windows in the porticoes, —a row of attic windows in the *walls*, each six feet high, *above* the porticoes;” he confounding the pentice with the portico, giving the name of portico to the pentice, but shewing the pentice to be divided from the nave by walls ‡. And, in the relics of the abbey-church at Reading, the remains of this dividing wall still salute the eye, still attract the wonder of spectators uninformed of such a separation in other churches, and unable to account for it in any §. Accordingly, all access to

¶ This has even gone on so rapidly, since I wrote the account above, that in 1803 the whole of the aile has been taken down, and the services of the church have for a twelve-month past been transferred to a room in the house.—July 16, 1804.

* Twisden, c. 290: “*Ipsum—corpus ecclesiæ appenticiis et porticibus undique circumcinxit, quæ—per parietes—distinxit.*”

† Twisden, c. 1294: “*Murus erat—, qui—corpus ecclesiæ a suis lateribus quæ alæ vocantur dividebat.*”

‡ Shaw's Moray, 277.

§ Arch. vi. 65, sir Henry Englefield: “There is a circumstance which is really very singular, in the disposition of the walls of the [abbey] church; that is, that the *side-ailles* seem
“ to

to *our* pence was originally from *without*, there was no communication betwixt them and the church *within*, while the rooms themselves were equally small and dark, each being divided from the nave by a wall between the pillars, which still remains at the site of the organ-loft. Near the *western* end of this aisle, about six feet only from the northern tower, appear the plain vestiges of an ancient doorway in the outer wall; that was about eight feet high, with something more than three wide, had a round arch above, yet is now formed into a modern kind of window with narrow parallel compartments, but must have led into a small room there between the door and the nave. A few yards to the east of this, and directly opposite to the new-discovered staircase of stone, was another door, the customary entrance into the church for the Eliot family, within these few years; some stone steps mounting up to the level of the floor, a round arch (equally as in the former doorway) still appearing over head within, the same sort of modern window filling up *this* as *that*, and all marking out to us the room of a second confessional. But at the eastern end of this was very lately another room, only a few feet square, having no outlet at all, having only a small window-like opening on the south, and approachable only from the aisle by a doorway that still remains, that proves itself modern by the letters *R. S.* cut in the stones of it, and shews the partitioning wall to be equally modern with itself. Thus partitioned, however, from the rest of the aisle, this room was considered as the tomb-house of the Scawens once existing at Molinek in the parish; but being taken down a few years ago, when lord Eliot purchased the estate at Molinek, and a buttress being erected upon the ground to secure this angle of the church from warping, not the least vestige of a grave was discovered, though the whole floor of the room was necessarily turned up in the operation. Yet the room was undoubtedly destined for this purpose, when the partitioning wall was erected, and the recording letters were inscribed upon the doorway; or an appropriation, so antique in its

“to have been *separated from the rest by continued walls, which still are in some parts three feet above the turf*; this, indeed, I cannot account for.” Yet how easily does the text account for it here! Mr. Bentham even says, p. 29, that in the first churches “their porticoes,” or aisles, “were *open*—towards the nave.” So requisite was a *new* account of our ancient churches, to clear away the falsehoods of the old!

origin, would never have been conceived by the common people: but still it was never used. Previously, indeed, to the erection of the partitioning wall, it must have been all open to the aisle, was in fact a mere part of the second confessional, and shews us very clearly the original nature of both. There was no light admitted into either from *without*, the present windows into the aisle being all apparently modern, and two of them being evidently doorways at first. Yet some was admitted from *within*, as the window-like opening in *this* room must have looked formerly into the chancel, looking latterly into the interval between the present altar and the late brewhouse. So, at the cathedral of Elgin before, we have seen the "to-falls" running "on each side of the church, "eastward from the traverse or cross." Thus the absolute darkness of an unwindowed room was qualified a little, by the introduction of a secondary light through glass, from the softened gloom of the church itself. The shade was now strong enough to throw an air of deep solemnity over the intercourse; while the view into the church called in all the ideas of religion, and diffused a solemnity still deeper over all. So happily does the soul derive her *temper*s from the *feelings* of the body at the moment! So happily also is the *eye* adapted to take in impressions from *matter*, and fix them upon *spirit*!

"Entirely demolished," says Mr. Willis in 1716, "—is [are] the roof and lofts of the north tower, though the walls yet stand. In it were [was] before the dissolution a set of bells, which were, as the parishioners have a notion, carried to the neighbouring churches." If they were so carried, as the tradition leaves us little doubt but they were, we may be sure they were carried only because they had been sold. We know not *much* indeed of the horrible rapacity for gain, which actuated the hearts and impelled the hands of the busiest of our reformers. Yet a few instances will teach us. At Dale in Derbyshire, "anno 1450 [1540] the abbey clock sold for six shillings; the iron, glass, paving-stones, and gravestones, sold for eighteen pound; the cloyster sold for six pound; here were SIX BELLS weighing 47 cwt." At Darleigh in the same county, "anno 1540 the tombs and the whole church were sold for twenty pounds, the cloyster for ten pounds, the chapter-house for twenty shillings;

“ *lings*; here was then received for SIX BELLS forty-five pounds, one
 “ shilling, and ten pence.” At Delacres in Staffordshire, “ the *pave-*
 “ *ment* of the abbey-church, *iles*, roof, and *gravestones*, were sold for
 “ 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* anno 1540; here were then SIX BELLS, weight fifty hun-
 “ dred, which were *valued* at 37*l.* 10*s.*” At Merival in Warwickshire,
 “ the whole buildings of the abbey, valued 1540 at 135*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*; FOUR
 “ BELLS, valued at 30*l.*; six *gravestones* with *brasses* on them, sold for
 “ 5*s.* *.” So, on July the 5th, 1542, was “ sold to Henry Crips of
 “ Burchington and Robert St. Leger of Feversham, certain *bell-metal*,
 “ containing twenty-four thousand, six hundreth, one quartern, twenty
 “ and one pounds, in waight; being parcel of the FIVE BELLS late in the
 “ great bellfrage of Christ-church in the city of Canterbury †.” But let
 me enlarge this catalogue of iniquities, by the addition of one more. Near
 to the school in St. Paul’s churchyard at London, says Stowe, was
 “ a great and high *clochier* or *bell-house*, foure-square, builded of stone,
 “ and in the same a most strong frame of timber, with FOURE BELLS, the
 “ *greatest that I have heard*; these were called Jesus Bells, and belonged
 “ to Jesus chappell. The same had a great spire of timber, covered with
 “ lead, with the image of St. Paul on the top; but was pulled down by sir
 “ Miles Partridge, knight, in the reigne of Henry the Eighth. The com-
 “ mon speech then was, that *hee did set one hundred pounds upon a cast*
 “ *of dice against it*, and so *wonne* the said *clochier* and *bels* of the king;
 “ and then, *causing the bells to be broken as they hung*, the rest was pulled
 “ downe †.” “ Sir Thomas Audley,” adds Stowe concerning one of the
 more dignified wretches that were satisfied to receive a reward for their
 services to the king, by sharing at second hand in his robberies upon the
 church, “ offered the great church of this priorie,” Christ-church on the
 right-hand within Aldgate, “ with a ring of nine *bells* well tuned,—to
 “ the parishioners of St. Katharine Christ-church, in exchange for their
 “ small parish-church, minding to have pulled it downe, and to have
 “ builded there towards the street;” and on their refusal, “ *foure the*
 “ *greatest*” bells “ were since sold to the parish of Stebunhith,” or Step-

* See Tanner, p. xxxix. xl. xlv. xlviii. Mr. Willis’s own notices.

† Battely, 24.

‡ Stowe, 357.

ney, "and *the five lesser* to the parish of St. Stephen in Coleman-street*." To so abominable an extent did the spirit of vulgar sacrilege then go! Yet thus to expose the nakedness of our reformers before the startled eye of the world, becomes a duty necessary to our own honour, to vindicate ourselves from participating in heart or head with the perpetrators of such enormities. The finest monuments of religion, we see, were considered by these Goths and Vandals of our own country, not with any respect for them as fine, not with any reverence for them as religious; but, in a gross, pedlar-like barbarism of thought, as so many pounds or so many yards of a commodity saleable at a shop.

Yet, as Mr. Willis proceeds concerning the northern tower of *our* church, "this was undoubtedly a clock-house to the parish, and served "to the use of the priory; which, being dissolved, rendered (in the "opinion of sacrilegious persons) this building altogether needless †;" or (to speak in a style more consonant to facts) capable of being profitably plundered. This, however, was "undoubtedly" *no* "clock-house to "the parish;" since Mr. Willis has already told us from Leland and from tradition united, that before the dissolution it was always "appropriated "to the use of the convent." Accordingly, the course of Mr. Willis's own argument here concurs with that declaration before, though he speaks himself in so different a language now; as the priory "being "dissolved," he adds, "rendered (in the opinion of sacrilegious persons) "this building altogether needless." So inseparably united with the priory does this building appear, even in Mr. Willis's own ideas; at the very moment in which, by a strange singularity of confusedness, his argument revolts from them and from the truth! Yet it was not, as Mr. Willis in a moment of confusion peculiarly confounded intimates equally, *common* to the priory and the parish, by being "a clock-house "to the parish," and yet "serving the use of the priory." What I have already said, proves it to have been *wholly* an appertinence to the priory, in Mr. Willis's opinion before and in reality. As such an appertinence only, *could* it have been considered as "altogether needless" on the dis-

* Stowe, 146.

† Willis, 151.

solution of the priory, or *would* it have been actually deprived of its bells. It was therefore the belfrey of the priory, as the other tower was what it still continues, the belfrey of the parish. It had over it a "roof;" it had in it "lofts," with a "set of bells," and so was (we may be sure) in its disposition within, as it was in its configuration without, exactly conformable to the other tower with its six bells at present. It was, however, stripped of its bells at that grand interval of rapine and ravage, which commenced with the dissolution, which "broke up the fountains "of the great deep" of avarice in the heart of man, and deluged the whole world of Reformation with a flood of sacrilege, till the violence of the hurricane was a little abated, till the property seized by villainy was wanted to be secured by law, and the estates dedicated to religion had settled secure in the hands of their laical plunderers, their laical solicitors, or their laical purchasers. Such an interval happened here.

On March the 2d, 1539, king Henry VIII. that robber of the church, and that oppressor of the state, compelled the prior and his subordinates to yield up Athelstan's college, with all its estates, into his hands: one king taking to himself, what another had given to God. In those hands it remained, amidst all the wild profusion very naturally generated by successful robbery, through the astonishing length of no less than—THREE WHOLE YEARS. Then, in the style of the times, when the king's servants were ever ready to solicit, and the king himself was ever prompt to bestow, two of his servants, John Ridgeway and Walter Smith*, waited at the door of the king's apartment against his coming out of it; probably after he had been banquetting very plentifully, and therefore was in high good humour for giving. But let me relate the anecdote, as it shews us the full soul of Henry and his courtiers, in the very words of the first communicator, and with the very tone of tradition to him. "John Champernowne sonne and heire apparant to sir "Philip of Devon," says Carew, "in Henry the 8. time, followed "the court, and through his pleasant conceits, of which much might "be spoken, wan some good grace with the king. Now, when the

* Willis, 143.

"golden

“ golden showre of the dissolved abbey-lands, rayned welnere into every
 “ gapers mouth, some 2 or 3 gentlemen, the king’s servants, and master
 “ Champernownes acquaintance, waited at a doore where the king was
 “ to passe forth, with purpose to beg such a matter at his hands. Our
 “ gentleman became inquisitive to know their suit; they made strange
 “ to impart it.” At a time when so much was asked, and so much
 obtained, when the king appeared like another Jupiter descending in
 showers of gold into the laps of his favourites; Champernown saw
 they had a solicitation to make, and wished to be admitted into a partner-
 ship with them. They were shy of revealing the objects of their suit,
 that they might keep all the success of execution to themselves. But
 an incident happened, such as frequently decides the fate of empire; that
 disclosed their objects without their communication, in an instant, and
 gave him a share in their success without their consent. “ This while,”
 adds Carew, “ out comes the king: they kneele down; so doth master
 “ Champernowne; they preferre their petition; the king graunts it; they
 “ render humble thanks; and so doth M. Champernowne. Afterwards,
 “ he requireth his share; they deny it; he appeales to the king; the
 “ king avoweth his equall meaning in the largesse; whereon the over-
 “ taken companions were *fayne to allot him this priory for his part-
 “ age* †.” Such a sweeping donation must this have been, when a

† Carew, 109. As a kind of comment to this text, let me just add what Leland and another tell us incidentally, and briefly thus: “ There was,” says the former, “ a place in
 “ Burford, callyd the priorie. Horman, the king’s *barbar*, hathe now the lands of it.”
 (Itin. vii. 73.) The barber took his majesty *by the nose* very much to his own advantage.
 See also, iv. 72, for a nunnery given to a groom-porter. See, likewise, Newcome, in his
 History of St. Alban’s Abbey, 520, for some of its lands being given to one who was “ groom
 “ of the privy chamber, and *barber* and *porter* to the king:” for others given to his *sergeant*
 “ of the *buck-hounds*; and given to both, as “ there is ground sufficient to shew,” for
 “ wages” due. “ Tenements” are mentioned by Stowe, 144, “ some time belonging to a late
 “ dissolved priory, but since possessed by Mistris Cornewallies, widow, and her heires, *by the*
 “ gift of king Henry the eighth, in reward of *fine puddings* (as it was commonly said), *by*
 “ her made, wherewith she had presented him: such,” and so horrible, indeed, “ was the
 “ princely liberality of those times” of rapacious sacrilege. But, could we trace the occu-
 pations or characters of others to whom the nunneries or the monasteries were given away,
 we should, probably, find *those* distributed frequently to the *whores*, and *these* to the
debauchees of the court.

third

third person, an accessory, an accidental one, received out of it, against the will of the others, the priory of St. German's for his share! Such an execrable scramble was now made among all the retainers of the court, for the spoils of religion and the church! To so little purpose did the king dip his arms up to the very shoulders, in the foul and venomous cistern of sacrilege, only to stand, like a blind Fortune on a wheel, to give away all as importunity kneeled, or as opportunity supplicated before him, and then to become, by the judgment of folly upon sin, more needy than the very men whom he had so capriciously enriched†! Mr.

† In the statute, c. xiii. 31 H. VIII. for the dissolution of monasteries, many abbots are said, at the very outset, “of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills, and assents, “without constraint, coercion, or compulsion, of any manner of person or persons,” to have given up their houses and lands to the king: so founded on falsehood is the dissolution! But then the statute goes on to confirm those monasteries to the king, and “also all other—“which *hereafter* shall *happen* to be” *freely given like those*, as we expect the sequel simply to be, but as it is, in fact, to be “*dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or by any other mean come unto the king's highness.*” Such a direct acknowledgment of violence *intended*, and such an indirect one of violence *actually shewn*, have we here: in full contradiction to the free consent, asserted at the beginning! But it finally shews us, that the duke of Norfolk and lord Cobham had respectively been licensed “by his Grace's word, without any manner of letters patents, or other writing,” to “*pur-chase and receive*” the monastery of Sipton, in Suffolk, and the college of Cobham, in Kent, and confirms them to those lords, respectively, as being “*now dissolved.*” Such a monument of folly, impudence, and tyranny combined, is this sweeping statute! Yet, let me here notice, briefly, the additional robbery of sacramental plate, committed upon the churches by this royal plunderer. Thus we find, “delivered unto the king's majestie, x. “die Maii, anno xxxi.” of his reign, 1540, “a small crosse of golde with one image, garnished with xv emeralds, six garnets, and certayne smalle perles, parcel of such stuffe as “came to his Grace's use, as well by the surrender, as by the visitation of diverse religious “howse and cathedral chirches in the west partes—: the *same day of the same stuffe*, “four CHALICES of golde, with four PATENTS [patens] of golde to the same, and a spoone “of golde, weinge all togethers an hundred and six ounces: —The first day of October, xxx “yere—, a CHALICE, gilt, weighing fourtie unces,—a CHALICE gilt, with a PATEN, weinge “twenty and six unces di.—, another CHALICE with a PATEN, gilde, weinge twentye and “three unces di.;—the twenty sixth day of February, anno xxxi,—a CHALICE, with a “PATEN of silver, and gilt—; the twenty seventh die of April, anno xxxii,—a CHALICE “gilt, parcel of such stuffe as came from Christ-church, in Canterbury;—the *same day*,—
“a CHA-

Mr. Champernown was of a family that had marked itself out to the historical eye of religion, by its religious donations; an ancestor of his being the founder of Trewardreth monastery in our own county; and this "sonne and heire apparant to sir Philip of Devon," in that awful wheel of Providence, which shews us wise men and fools, honest men and knaves, religious and sacrilegious men, succeeding one another in the same family, now hastening to reverse the pious liberality of his ancestor, by taking as much property from the church as the other had given to it §. He thus got the priory of St. German's: but as, in the midst of the general rapacity, an awful terror for sacrilege hung upon the minds of the solicitors, these or their immediate heirs frequently transferred their possessions to others, and Mr. Champernown's heir* sold his to Richard Eliot, Esq. of Devonshire; the representative of a family which had flourished there for eight or ten generations before, and had married into several families of note in that county †. Thus

"a CHALICE with a PATTEN, gilte," &c. &c. (Steevens's Additions to Monasticon, i. 83, 86.) Thus did our Henry command the chalices and the patens to be taken from the altar of the Lord, and placed upon his own sideboard; becoming a second Belshazzar by the act, and ranking nearly in equal pre-eminence of sacrilege with him.

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 47: At Modbury, in Devonshire, "Campernulph is now chief lord—. There *was* another house of the Campernulphes more auncient, caullid Camper-nulphe, of Bere.—Ther is one of the Fortecues dwelling in Modbury, whos father had to wife the mother of *syr Philip Chaumburne*, now lyving." 14: "Campernulphus, alias Chambe[rnon], dominus de Trewardreth, [et fundator] prioratus monachorum, qui post domini ^{erant ejusdem} manerii. Nunc [Campernulphus dominus de] ^{Modbury}. [Devoniae]." This extract from a record precludes all the doubts reported in iii. 32, whether Campernulphus, or Cardinham, or Arundel of Lanherne was founder. Campernulphus was, while Arundel or Cardinham could only be benefactors.

* Carew, 109.

† Willis, 144, 145: "Anno 1433, temp. Hen. VI. Walter Eliot was returned among the gentry of Devonshire; and to this family, *as should seem by the arms*, was ally'd sir Richard Eliot, made by king Henry VIII. one of the justices of the King's Bench; who was, *as I take it* [and as the fact certainly is, see Leland's Coll. iv. 141], father to the famous sir Thomas Eliot. This sir Richard, by his will, which I have seen, appointed his body to be bury'd in the cathedral of Salisbury, anno 1520, of which church Robert Eliot dy'd a dignitary, anno 1562, who was unkle, *as I guess* by the pedigree, to Richard Eliot

Thus the Eliots came into the estate by purchase. Yet Richard, who went immediately to reside in the priory, appears to have been so little satisfied even under the right of purchase, with the previous relation of the house and lands to the church; that he affected to suppress its very appellation of priory, and to supersede it by the imposition of his family name; that, for this purpose, he took advantage of its position at the head of a natural bay, dignified this bay with the too presuming title of a port, and then gave the convent that unmeaning appellation which it retains at this day, of PORT ELIOT†.

When he came, however, to reside in the house, let us, with more satisfaction, remark from Carew, his cotemporary, the priory still, “by the owner’s charity, distributeth, *pro virili, the almes accustomedly expected and expended at such places*§.” He thus kept up, even to the days of Carew’s writing, all the charitable dignity of the prior himself, and precluded all perception of loss to the poor, in the substitu-

“Eliot, who not long after seated himself here.” (Willis, 145.) “These gentleman,” adds Hals, 143, “I take to have been of Scotch original, and so denominated from a place called Elliott, near Dundee, in Scotland; and their descent of latter time from the Elliotts of Devonshire, Berkshire, or Cambridgeshire, of which last county one sir Thomas Eliott, knt. was sheriff, 24 Henry VIII. also 36. This gentleman wrote a book called ‘Defensorium bonarum Mulierum;’ the Defence of good or virtuous Women. But that which made him most famous, was, he writ and composed the first Latin and English Dictionary that ever was seen in England, about the year 1540.” “Thomas Elyot,” as another author subjoins, “obliged our countrymen with the publication of a Latin and English Dictionary, printed at London in the year 1542, in folio, under the title of Bibliotheca Eliotæ. —This author was born of a knightly family in Suffolk,—died in March 1546, and was buried at Carleton, in the county of Cambridge.” (Ainsworth’s Preface to 1st edition.) All shews we cannot travel beyond Devonshire with any degree of certainty, for the origin of this family.

‡ “The priory-house,” says Hals, 142, “before its dissolution, was called Porth-Priour, or Port-Priour—. It’s now, after the name of its owner, transnominated to Port or Porth Ellyot.” But, as Carew remarks, the “Priory,—at the general suppression, changing his note *with* his coate, is now named Port Elliott.” (F. 109.) “This priory,” adds Willis, who married into the family, “upon Mr. Eliot’s purchasing it, was named Port Eliot: since when, this appellation has so far prevailed, that Port Eliot has been inserted in the maps, as if it was a particular vill.” (P. 144.)

§ Carew, 109.

tion of a laical for an ecclesiastical prior. He therefore began, probably, that attention to this fine structure, which was certainly shewn by the ecclesiastical, which seems to have been followed by the posterity of the laical after him, and is eminently displayed with all the fondness of an antiquary, all the taste of a scholar, and all the reverence of a Christian, by his ennobled descendant the late lord*.

But *before* he came, in the three years of Henry's possessing the priory, in the thirty or forty of Champernown's and his heir's holding it†, rapine had full power to execute its work of wastefulness. Those bells were taken down from the priory tower, which had been put up by the Normans, the builders of it, and equal lovers of bell harmony with the Saxons. "The Normans," indeed, we find, in their own country at present, "are strangers to the ringing of bells harmoniously "in peals, as is done in England; it being their custom to ring no "more than three bells at any one time‡." Even the French themselves "have no idea of ringing bells harmoniously in any part of "France§." But, as I hope I may say in a jocular travestie of Horace, being myself a fond admirer of the melody of bells, softened down by

* Richard Eliot, esq. "was bury'd in this church of St. German's June 24, 1609." John, his son, afterwards sir John, "by the inquisition taken after his death—is said to "have dy'd Nov. 27.—1632." His son and heir "was buried here, near his grandfather, "at the upper end of the south isle—of this church, March 25, 1685." His only son, "Daniel Eliot, esq. my father-in-law, departed this life about the 60th year of his age; was "buried among his ancestors, October 28, 1702. This gentleman, in regard he had only "one daughter, named Katharine," and married to Willis; "bequeathed his estate in order "to keep up the name of his family, to Edward Eliot, grandson to Nicolas Eliot, fourth "son of sir John Eliot, knt. aforesaid." (Willis, 145, 146.) "Edward Eliot, esq." adds Hals, 143, "is now in possession of the estate; he married the daughter of Craggs," the secretary of state, and had by her one child, James, who died unmarried; when the estate went to Richard, his uncle, then living at Molinek, in the parish, and his son died a few months ago in possession of it, Edward Craggs Eliot, lord Eliot.

† Willis, 143.

‡ Ducarrel, 98.

§ Thicknesse, ii. 65.

a distance

a distance of position, and more fond in the days of youthful, but serious sensibility ;

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti.

The Normans of England heard the harmony of our bell-towers; were delighted with its soothing, mellow, melancholy tones, and so continued it to the present times. Of this we have a remarkable evidence, *at the very moment*. “He caused two *great* bells to be made,” says Ingulphus, a *Norman* prior of Croyland, *just after* the Conquest, concerning a *Saxon* prior, about *a century before*, “which he named Bartholomew and Betteline, and two *middle* bells, which he called Turketyl and Tatwin; and two *lesser* bells, which he entitled Pega and Bega: but lord Turketyl, the abbot, had previously caused one *very great* bell to be made, Guthlac by name; which being now united with the bells aforesaid,” as this Norman exclaims, with the soul of a Saxon transfused into him, “ALL FORMED A WONDERFUL PEAL OF HARMONY, nor was there THEN SUCH A SET OF TUNEABLE BELLS IN ALL ENGLAND*.” And so thoroughly was the love of bell-harmony diffused through the whole kingdom, that John Major, the Scotch historian of the *sixteenth* century, describes it in terms seemingly raised beyond the truth by his astonishment at it. In St. Edmundsbury, he cries, “is reported to be the greatest bell of all England;” though, “in England is a vast number of bells of the finest tone, because England abounds with the materials for bells; and, as they are reported to *excel all mankind in music*,” a compliment to our national genius, very amazing in itself, and peculiarly amazing for the time; yet previously founded by our author, not on mere report, but upon *his own opinion*; “so likewise do they excel in *the soft and ingenious modulation of their bells*. Not a village of forty houses you see, *without five bells*.”

* Ingulphus, 505: “Fecit ipse fieri duas magnas campanas, quas Bartholomæum et Bettelinum cognominavit, et duas medias quas Turketulum et Tatwinum vocavit, et duas minores quas Pegam et Begam appellavit. Fecerat antea fieri dominus Turketulus abbas unam maximam campanam, nomine Guthlacum; quâ cum prædictis campanis compositâ, fiebat mirabilis harmonia, nec erat tunc tanta consonantia campanarum in totâ Angliâ.”

“*of the sweetest tones*; and in every mansion-house of any size, you
 “will always hear *the most agreeable chimes playing every third hour*.
 “While I was studying at Cambridge, upon the great festivals *I spent*
 “*very many nights without sleep, listening to the melody of the bells*. The
 “university stands upon a river, and the sound is the sweeter from the
 “undulation of the water. There are no bells in England thought supe-
 “rior to those of Oseney abbey,” near Oxford. “When they want to
 “form a fine tone, with the common materials they mix *a quantity of*
 “*silver*. The Walloons and the Flanders are said to observe the same
 “rule as the English, in their sweet-toned bells ¶.” This account of
 our own fondness and that of our fathers, for

So musical a discord, such sweet thunder,

as are produced by the fine tones of our church-bells, is truly striking to
my mind, yet little known to the public at large. This fondness now ap-
 pears to have commenced before the Conquest, to have gone on uninter-
 rupted by it, and at last to have replenished almost all our church-towers
 from the cathedral and the conventual down to the parochial, with peals
 of bells.

But let me add to this account of our bells in general, by noting the size
 of some of them in particular. At Westminster abbey, says an author
 of the *fourteenth* century, “are two bells, which *over all the bells in the*

¶ John Major De Gestis Scotorum, iii. 1, fol. xxxviii. : “Illic fertur esse maxima cam-
 “panarum totius Angliæ. In Angliâ campanarum optimè resonantium ingens est copia,
 “quia campanarum materiâ Anglia abundat. Et sicut in musicâ cæteros mortales antecel-
 “lere dicuntur, ita in campanarum dulci et artificiosâ modulatione. Nullum vicum xl domo-
 “rum, sine quinque campanis suavissimè sonantibus, invenies; et in quâlibet alicujus
 “magnitudinis villâ semper, de tertiâ in tertiam, chimam dulcissimam audies. Dum studens
 “Cantabrigiæ eram, in magnis festis plurimam noctem insomnem duxi, ut campanarum
 “melodiam audirem. Super flumen universitas stat; propterea ex aquæ redundantîâ sonus
 “est suavior. Campanis cænobii de Osneiâ nullæ in Angliâ meliores putantur, Cùm dul-
 “cem sonum exposcant, cum campanarum communi materiâ argenti copiam miscent.
 “Similem ritum cum Anglis in dulcibus campanis, Valenschæneni et Flandri tenere
 “dicuntur.” Fol. viii. he says positively of the English, “in Europâ, opinione meâ, in
 “musicâ sunt primi.”

“world”

“*world* obtain the precedence in wonderful *size* and sound *.” Yet we know much more distinctly from a writer of the *twelfth*, that at the cathedral of Canterbury the prior, Conrad, fixed in the clock-house five *exceedingly great bells*; of which one required *eight* men, two others *ten* each, the fourth *eleven*, and the fifth even *twenty-four*, to ring them †. We thus seem to mount the *climax* of size in bells, and to stand at the very summit of it. Yet we do not, as we can mount still higher. A succeeding prior, in the very same century, set up a bell in the clock-house, which demanded no less than *two-and-thirty* men to ring it ‡. In what exact degree of comparison to this stands that great bell at St. Paul’s, which announces the death of the bishop or of any of the royal family; or that still greater, I believe, which by the hundred and one strokes of its clapper proclaims to the colleges at Oxford the hour of shutting the gates in the evening; I leave others to determine. Certainly all of a specified size above continue rising in a scale of grandeur till they have risen very high; and the last, I believe, stands at a height of magnificence, superior to either that at St. Paul’s, or to this which has the repute of being the largest in England at present, the celebrated *Tom* of Oxford, traditionally known to be a derivative from the adjoining abbey of Oseney, and therefore uniting once with others there, to form the peal so highly commended by Major above.

With the bells of our conventual church at St. German’s, were also taken away the very roof, the very planks, even the very timbers, of the bell-room, and of the ringing-room, as quite useless, when the bells themselves were removed. With such rash dexterity of fraud did one sacrilege lend a plea for another! With such hasty strides too was rapacity advancing to the demolition of this Norman tower! Thus, indeed, would it probably have triumphed in the full execution of its views, if

* Itin. Simonis Symeonis, published with W. of Worcester, p. 5: “Ubi sunt duæ campanæ, quæ inter omnes mundi campanas primatem obtinent, in magnitudine et in sono admirabili.”

† Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 137: Quinque signa per-maxima, quorum primum x, similiter secundum x, tertium xi, quartum viii, quintum verò xxiv homines, ad sonandum trahunt.”

‡ Ibid. 38: “Signum—magnum in clocario posuit, quod triginta duo homines ad sonandum trahunt.”

Mr. Eliot had not come to reside in the priory, and with the spirit of a prior protected the orphan church. The staircase within appears much injured at present, entire, indeed, at the top and bottom, but broken in the middle, being at the north-western angle. About fifteen years ago it was even beginning to separate from the walls, and threatening to bring down all that angle of the tower with it. Lord Eliot therefore applied a remedy to the disorder, fixing two strong beams at right angles from wall to wall, bolting them together with iron, and so preventing any part of the wall or staircase from starting. My lord also put a new roof over the whole, to keep the timbers dry. Before, as the whole interior of the tower was exposed to the weather, and as the church was also exposed through the two arches of the tower below; these had been naturally closed up, with a supplemental wall of stone and mortar. They thus remained just apparent to the eye within the church, but unseen from without, except through the dark and narrow windows, till October 1793; when that representative of the prior in all *ecclesiastical* rights over the church, my amiable and worthy friend the Rev. Mr. Penwarne, to whom I owe much of local information in the present work, at the suggestion of lord Eliot and myself, permitted a square doorway to be cut through the supplemental wall of the southern arch, for the full inspection of the tower within, and for the continual exhibition of the two arches, both handsome, both pointed there: nor does any thing seem to be now wanted for the preservation of a tower, so abandoned to desolation through more than two centuries before; than with an honourable sacrifice of sightliness to safety, to tear away the ivy richly mantling around it, which lends it indeed the venerable air of antiquity, but is contributing all the while to make it more an antiquity than ever, by feeding upon the heart of its cement, thrusting its roots between the stones in search of this, and keeping the damp of the weather in a continued corrosion of both; that the tower may remain for two or three ages longer, to ornament the most conspicuous view of the church, to lend a fulness of dignity to this most dignified part of the whole, and to exhibit it in all its original completeness to the eye*.

SECTION

* Having repeatedly mentioned the late lord Eliot with honour in the text, I must here do justice to him and to myself in a note. He was my original instigator for writing the present work.

SECTION II.

"THE south isle *and nave*," remarks Mr. Willis, still continuing the misnomer which he began before, "appears to be *the newest* building†." So much was the judgment of this antiquary seduced by his eye, that he has selected the demonstrably oldest part of the whole for the newest! There is a lightsomeness in the aspect of this oldest part, which may naturally seduce an eye not directed by historical reasoning. From its relation probably to the Romans in its constructors the Roman Britons, it carries an illuminated face with it; even now when its western window has been closed up, and when it has been also deprived of all its northern windows, by the collateral addition of Athelstan's church to it. The gloominess of *this* forms a strong contrast to the luminousness of *that*, and therefore casts an air of superior freshness over it. Gloominess seems to have been affected in our churches, by both the *Saxon* and the *Norman* constructors of them; not merely in their practice of shading the windows with paintings, but in the fewness, the contractedness of the windows themselves. We see this exemplified by our own church, where the nave, erected by the Saxons, had not a single window along its

work. In a visit to him, solicited by himself, I threw out some remarks as I viewed the church concerning the age of it; which my lord politely questioned, and I deliberately maintained. This led me to put my sentiments upon paper, and my lord exulted probably in his finesse of drawing me out. But when the ardour of my mind, kindling like a chariot-wheel with its own movements, pushed me on to prosecute my survey, and my essay had swelled into a book; my lord began to foresee the consequence to himself. *He apprehended a design upon his finances.* Nor would he *spare money for literature*, for literature even concerning *his favourite church*. He therefore refrained from all intimations that would cost him any thing, while the work was under my hands. Even when I had finished it, he expressed no wish for perusing it in manuscript; he put forth no finger to push it into publication. He abandoned it to its fate, without one solicitude felt for it, I believe; without one inquiry made about it, I know. The solicitude was suppressed, and the inquiry was precluded in a cautious delicacy for his purse. *He wished to be a patron without any expense of patronage.* Nor would this work, so abandoned by him, have ever been published by me, if my lord had not died, if my indignation at such treatment had not been buried in his grave, and if at the same time I had not accidentally become rich enough to risk the expense myself.

† Willis, 151.

whole range; and the portal adjoined by the Normans had only three windows over the entrance, short, narrow, even half-buried in their own lead. In the same strain does Leland remark, that "there is but one paroch church in Leominster, but it is large, *somewhat darke*, and of *ancient buildinge*; insomuch that *it is a great likelyhood* that it is the church that *was somewhat afore the Conquest* †." So the abbey-church of Waltham in Essex, which was built by Harold in 1062, in the interval almost betwixt the Norman and Saxon periods, appears from the remains of it at this day to have been "a Gothic building, rather large than neat, firm than fair, *very dark*, save that *it was helped again by artificial lights* §." All our old churches are so gloomy in general, that every lively spirit necessarily feels a sensation of religiousness, at the very entrance into them. Our own at St. German's is even so gloomy, with the addition of an altar-window where the chancel once commenced; that a window has been latterly opened in the ceiling for the benefit of the clergyman officiating in the desk or pulpit. Previously to this relief, in our church as well as in others, the officiating divine must generally have gone through the service, not indeed from that exertion of memory, which is generally made at present in the reputedly extemporaneous sermons of the continent, but by that shadowy sort of illumination, which candles awfully diffuse over the evening service of our greater churches in winter. This practice began very early in the temples of Christianity; an express mention being made by some canons, that from their spirit, or from their age, or from both, were thought worthy to be denominated apostolical, and are certainly some of the most ancient among Christians, of "the oil for the lamp," even in the service of the eucharist ||. We accordingly see Conrad the prior of Christ-church in Canterbury as early as 1108-9, giving to the cathedral "a candlestick of wonderful greatness, composed of brass; having three branches upon one side with three upon the other, all issuing from their proper stem in the middle; and so being capable of admitting *seven* wax-lights into

† Itin. iv. 93.

§ Steevens's Additions to Monasticon, iii. 113.

|| Cotelerius's Patres Apostolici, i. 437.

“it ¶.” This had only one range of receptacles for candles, and was not suspended by a chain, but raised upon a pillar, and so had one receptacle in the centre. But others had three ranges, like our present chandeliers, yet still raised upon a pillar, and still having one receptacle in the centre. Thus in the chapel at Glastonbury abbey, besides the Easter candle, one hundred and twenty pounds and a half in weight, besides four other sorts of candles, a quarter of a pound, half a pound, a whole pound, and three pounds each: there was a candlestick of three ranges, the lowest holding ten candles, but all holding twenty-five, each half a pound in weight; and on certain festivals “all the ranges” were lighted, with “the middle candle at the top of them.” All these candles too were not even the mould that we generally burn in our parlours at present; were not even the spermaceti, that we at present burn in some of our churches or chapels; but were the most elegant, the most expensive of all, candles of wax. The use of these was so regular and steady, that language, which (like some substances in mines) catches the impression of every object long in contact with it, still shews us the impression when the object is gone; and the very appellation for a church-candle among our ancestors, was merely a wax-light. And what is now the highest luxury of refinement in our drawing-rooms, was then the ordinary decoration of our superior churches or chapels; we expending upon ourselves, what our ancestors gave to God *. So much did the Normans and Saxons love a gloom in their churches, softened down by an artificial light! Yet the taste of

¶ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 137: “Candelabrum miræ magnitudinis, de aurichalco fabrefactum, habens tres hinc et tres inde ramos, ex medio proprio prodeuntes stipite, unde septem recipit cereos.”

* Joannes Glastoniensis, 358: “Consuetudo *luminarii sive cereorum* in ecclesiâ Glastoniensi.—Præter cereum paschalem, qui continet oxx libras et dimidiam, quatuor sunt genera cereorum. Primum majoris formæ [scilicet] de tribus libris. Secundum processionalium, s. de unâ librâ. Tercium de dimidiâ librâ. Quartum minoris formæ, s. de uno quarterio. Adjiciendum etiam, quod tres sunt”—p. 359.—“ordines eorundem cereorum. Primus in iii trabibus, continentibus xxv cereos, quemlibet de dimidiâ librâ.—In omnibus iii^{or} cappis accendi debent omnes trabes, continentes xxv cereos.” P. 360: “Inferior trabes, continens x cereos.” P. 361: “Cereus medius super trabem.” Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 290, under a year so early as 1035: “Rex Canutus dedit Wintoniensi ecclesiæ—candelabrum *argenteum* cum vi brachiis qualia *modò* in ecclesiis videmus pretiosissima de aurichalco.”

the Britons appears very different, less judicious, and more modern; neglecting all appeal to sensation, perhaps because it is not sentiment forsooth, thus abstracting man with a kind of Quaker's logic into a being merely spiritual, and throwing as gay an irradiation of daylight over a church as over a drawing-room. This appears also the more singular in the Britons, because the Romans we see coinciding with the Normans and Saxons, in their love of gloominess for their temples; in their fondness, therefore, for the mixed mass of light and shade, which is produced by an artificial imitation of day. That stern monument of majesty in building, the Pantheon at Rome, has almost all the darkness of a funeral vault within. Even that elegant casket of architecture, that fine, fillagree model of a temple, executed in stone instead of silver, the *maison quarrée* of Arles, received no daylight into it originally but from the opened door.

So officiating, in what habit or dress did the clergyman appear formerly, within our own and other churches? This is a point little known to even the antiquaries among the clergy themselves. I knew it not with any exactness, till my subject suggested my inquiry: and what has given *me* knowledge, will give knowledge (I presume) to *others*.

A clergyman, then, is still enjoined by the municipal laws of our church, whenever he consecrates the eucharist, to wear "a white ALB plain, with a VESTMENT OR COPE;" while the assistant clergymen, if any, are to wear "ALBES with TUNICLES†." The very appellations of these garments proclaim their antiquity to our ears, and the long disuse of them compels even clergymen to seek their nature in books. From these we learn, that the ALB is *not* what even now I felt myself strongly inclined to suppose it was, only the surplice under a less familiar name; especially when I observed the first liturgy of Edward VI. ordering a bishop to wear at the communion "a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment‡." The alb, indeed, *was* a kind of surplice, but very distinct

† Wheatly's Rational Illustration, a favourite book with me in the more serious and (I thank God) the more early part of my youth, edit. 7th, p. 82 and 103.

‡ Ibid. 102.

from it, being less loose in its form, bound about the middle like a cassock, and either tight in the sleeves like a cassock, or gathered at the wrist like a shirt §. It thus became so similar to a surplice, that the real distinction was sooner lost in the little difference, the surplice more easily usurped upon the alb, and the alb more readily sunk into disuse among us. The same fate has been shared by the TUNACLE, and we now know it only to have been a smaller sort of COPE||.

The cope itself, to which we are thus referred for the tunacle, remained in our churches nearly to our own times. Watts, the republisher of Matthew Paris's two Histories in 1684, attests the cope to have been generally worn at the time in our church-service ¶. It is even reported to have been retained in the cathedral at Durham, as late as the present generation; and the reliques of the last set of copes, I understand, are still shewn in the wardrobe there. Originally the cope was a garment, common among the laity male or female, and denominated merely from its essential appendage, a *cap* or hood; as *this*, by lying back upon the shoulders, has lent its appellation equally to the similarly posited *cape* of our coats*. In 1191 a bishop flying out of England, says M. Paris, disguised himself like a woman, "putting on a woman's gown of green "with a *cope* [that is, a hood] of the same colour †." Henry III. also, commanding the clergy of London to meet him at St. Paul's, "all clad in "a festival form with *surplices* and *copēs*," for receiving a reputed portion of our Saviour's blood, just sent him from Jerusalem; he appeared himself for carrying to Westminster abbey the fine vase of crystal containing it, "drest in a humble habit, a *poor cope without a hood ‡*." Even Chaucer mentions as riding-habits among the genteeler laity of his

§ Durand's Rationale in Wheatly, 107; and Spelman under *Alba*.

|| Wheatly, 108.

¶ M. Paris, Glossarium, *Capa*: "Nos Angli—in liturgiâ adhuc iis [capis] utimur."

* Watts's Glossarium, *Capa*.

† M. Paris, 139: "Virum in feminam convertit, tunicâ viridi femineâ indutus, capam" (p. 140, "capicium) habens ejusdem coloris."

‡ Ibid. 641: "Habens humilem habitum, scilicet pauperem capam sine caputio."

own time, "coaps," and "semi-coaps §;" the latter, I suppose, a kind of modern *spencers* with *hoods*.

Yet how were the copes worn, by either the laity or the clergy? I had always supposed them, till I came to examine now, a kind of woman's cloak, fastened under the chin, receding from the breast, and resting upon the shoulders: but they were worn and formed in a very different manner. They were worn as a carter's frock is at present, as a clergyman's gown formerly was, as the latter continued to be in some of our schools (I apprehend) to the end nearly of the seventeenth century ||, and as the surplice was within our own memory, by putting the head through an opening in the middle, and letting the garment hang down from the shoulders. The last, indeed, was so regularly worn in an unopened form within these forty years, that a shrewd parish-clerk of the north of England, who had often assisted in robing academics and non-academics, used to discriminate these from those by their want of adroitness in the necessary acts, of laying hold upon one side of the collar with the teeth, of thrusting the arms through the inverted sleeves, then with both hands gathering up the rest into a roll, and so tossing it over the head without discomposing the hair. Henry I. says Matthew Paris accordingly concerning the cope in 1135, "putting on a new robe of scarlet, and "being accustomed (whenever he had one) to send another from the "same cloth reverently to his brother," duke Robert then his blinded prisoner, "when he attempted to put on the *cope*, found that entrance at "the hood which is commonly called the collar in French, too tight for "him, burst a stitch of the sewing in the attempt, therefore laid it down, "and said, Let this *cope* be carried to my brother the duke, because he "has a smaller head than mine*." So evidently was the cope in dressing

§ Watts's Glossary, the source of almost all my intelligence concerning copes.

|| Watts's Glossary, *Capa*: "Clausula—et toga olim, imo et adhuc in scholâ unâ aut alterâ "in Angliâ nostrâ, uti audiui."

* M. Paris, 61: "Cum rex novam robam de scarleto sumens (assuetus de eodem panno, "quoties et ille sumpserit, fratri suo reverenter transmittere), capum conaretur induere, quod "invenit introitum caputii," called merely "caputium" by Matthew Westminster. p. 34, pars secunda, "qui galerum vulgariter Gallicè appellatur, nimis arctum; inde contigit, "quod

dressings put on over the head, and by an opening barely sufficient to admit the head through it! In this manner was it equally put on by the clergy, we may be sure; the mode being borrowed with the mantle from the laity. Even when the laity had thrown the mantle aside, the clergy still retained it on that principle of propriety, which has given them almost all their distinctive dresses, by opposing the gravity of steadiness to the levity of innovation, even in fashions. So put on, it hung over the arms, but (like a woman's cloak at present) had holes in it undoubtedly for the emission of the arms, and then fell (as it still falls on the continent, I apprehend) down to the knees.

But on the same principle of general inflexibility to the fluttering variations of fashion, when the laity opened their copes before, the clergy still kept theirs closed. Even canons were made, expressly requiring them to use closed copes, "especially in the church*." There they were worn *over* the surplice; as in 1237 the pope's legate is said by Matthew Paris, to have entered St. Martin's church in London "dressed "in his pontificals, a surplice; *upon* it a choral cope furred with various "skins, and a mitre†." Yet since fashion will finally predominate over the clergy as well as the laity, and even ought in strictness of propriety to predominate at last, that the clergy may not appear too much insulated from the laity around them; the open copes were adopted in time by the clergy, were even adopted with a laical addition made to them in consequence of their openness. Being no longer suspended steadily from the shoulders, they were provided with sleeves for their supporters. Thus another legate is recorded by the same historian under 1258, to have entered London with a train of twenty horse behind, and with ten domestic chaplains at his side, the latter "all proudly *encircled* with

"quòd unam suturæ puncturam tantum confringens, eam deposuit; et ait, Hæc capa deferatur
"danda fratri meo duci, qui argutius me caput habet." Now *collier* is French for a collar.

* Watts's Glossary.

† M. Paris, 357: Pontificalibus se induit, scilicet superpelliceo, et desuper capâ choralis, "pellibus variis furratâ, et mitrâ."

"*cofes* of the best *moreen*, five of them *closed*, and five *sleeved**." The closed, we see, were not sleeved, and the sleeved were not closed.

But whether closed or sleeved, they were used in the church upon festival days only, even such days as were more than ordinarily festival. This we learn from our general and very useful informant concerning this dress, the historian Matthew Paris; who, in his private history of St. Alban's abbey, tells us of "six wax-candles ordered to be burnt" in the church there "upon the festivals *in cofes*, and on the very highest of "them†!" They were used too as early as 1246, with fine fringes of gold upon them. Accordingly the pope, notes Paris, "beholding on the "ecclesiastical ornaments of some Englishmen, as on their choral *cofes* "and mitres, very desirable gold-fringe, asked where it was manufac- "tured: and being answered, In England, cried out, Truly England is "our garden of delights‡." Thus did the richness of our manufac- tures, even at that early period, engage the admiration of Roman elegance itself; and thus did the splendour of our ecclesiastics in their habits, exceed even the Papal ambition of pomp in church-dresses! Yet we find that splendour and that richness in one instance at least, mounting much beyond even this high pitch of ecclesiastical luxury in dress. Conrad, the famous prior of Christ-church in Canterbury, under the weight of many misfortunes, "caused a most costly *cope* to be made, worked without on "all sides with threads of the purest gold, having below in a range all "round a hundred and forty bells of silver gilt, and shewing some very "valuable stones between them§." This Conrad, who was really a

* M. Paris, 826: "Venit Londinium cum viginti equitaturis, cujus familia collateralis "octo [decem] capis, videlicet quinque clausis, et quinque manicatis, de optimo moreto su- "perbivit redimita." I guess at the meaning of "moretum."

† P. 1055: "Sex cereos, in festis quæ in cappis fiunt, et maximè præcipuis, accen- "dendos."

‡ P. 616: "Videns in aliquorum Anglicorum ornamentis ecclesiasticis, utpote in capis "choralibus et infulis, auri frisia concupiscibilia, interrogavit ubinam facta fuissent. Cui "responsum est, In Angliâ. At ipse, Verè hortus noster deliciarum est Angliâ."

§ Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 137: "Cappam pretiosissimam undique exterius auro puris- "simo contextam, inferius et per circuitum cxi nolas argenteas sed deauratas habentem, "nonnullis lapidibus pretiosissimis interpositis, fieri fecit."

great architect, and actually planned what was called while it continued his glorious quire at Canterbury cathedral, seems to have been peculiarly fond of music, hanging a fringe of no less than a hundred and forty bells to his cope. But, in doing this, he copied merely the prescriptions of God to his high-priest among the Jews; when he orders “the robe of “the ephod” for Aaron, to have “beneath upon the hem of it—pomegranates—, and bells of gold between them round about, a golden bell “and a pomegranate, a golden bell and a pomegranate,” so that “his “sound shall be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place before the “Lord, and when he cometh out *.”

So settled as our copes were within the very sanctuary of the church, no storm of violence (we are ready to suppose) could have ever torn them from the sides of the altar, except that grand storm of the Reformation. Yet this, as I have already shewn, did not tear them away. They survived the storm, and live even in our church-formulary at present. But there they live in vain. They have gradually been disused by the clergy, and are hardly known to them by name at present. The tide of national ideas had for ages been running strong in favour of external religion, of solemn services in the church, and of pompous habits on the churchmen officiating in them. This flood began to turn at the Reformation; it has been ebbing away ever since. The powerful and continued suction, therefore, has carried down the channel, and absorbed in the ocean, the very cope of our canons and rubrics. The intellect of man is thus influenced by the mere accidents of social life, by the fluctuations of general opinion, and by the varying phases of the moon. Some *advertisements* (as they were called) being made by queen Elizabeth in the seventh year of her reign, yet meant for laws to the church by this ever-hypocritical woman, and received as laws by a church trampled under the feet of this termagant tyrant; surplices were enjoined to be used in all the ordinary services of the church, and copes were confined to the eucharist †. But, in that change of the public mind which commenced at the Reformation, the very eucharist itself began to be deserted. The Puri-

* Exodus, xxviii. 31, 33, 34, and 35.

† Wheatly, 108.

tans among us felt the ferment of irreverence, so sharply impregnating their understandings and affections ; that, during their tyranny of twelve years over the university of Oxford in the seventeenth century, the eucharist was never administered once in the cathedral of Christ-church, was never administered once in the chapels of All Souls, New, Jesus, and probably other colleges, was never administered once in that church of the whole university, St. Mary's ; though it was before on the first day of every term at the university-church, in every month within the chapels, and upon every Sunday in the cathedral *. The irreverence, indeed, was at that period working so violently among them, as to form the very leaven which separated some of their own votaries from them, and combined these *Puritans of the Puritans* into those most paradoxical of all characters in the kingdom ; those slyest children of craft in business, those wildest children of enthusiasm in religion ; those half Christians, and half Deists ; from a very Christian principle, and from very fanaticism in it, made half Deists ; who still remain among us under the appellation of Quakers, but who, to the astonishment and terror of all Christendom, have actually *renounced* the eucharist *in full form*. Even the church in the growing irreverence, though it has not gone the horrible lengths of the dissension, yet has run a course among its laity, that is amazing to every well-taught Christian ; and has felt the eucharist shamefully deserted, by the generality of them. In this conduct even the clergy have been so far participant as to leave off by degrees the appropriate dresses of the communion ; to divest the eucharist of its peculiar pomp, in albs, in tunacles, or in copes ; and thus (as it were) to save the eucharist itself in the threatened wreck, by throwing all its distinguishing decorations overboard.

Such were the dresses, in which the clergy officiated ever since the Reformation, within our cathedral of Cornwall. But let us attend to another circumstance of divine worship there, the use of INCENSE within it. The use we see expressly enjoined by God in that ritual, which alone

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 143 ; a work pregnant with anecdotes of that century ; and a kind of true sanctology, for the confessors or martyrs of the church of England during it.

of all the rituals in the world had the honour to be prescribed by God himself. In this we hear Moses told, “Thou shalt make an altar to burn *incense* upon—; and Aaron shall burn thereon *sweet incense* every morning; when he dresseth the lamps, he shall burn *incense* upon it; and when Aaron lighteth the lamps at even, he shall burn *incense* upon it; a perpetual incense before the Lord, throughout your generations*.” This incense is expressly ordered in a previous passage, in a passage noticing incense for the first time to be “*spices* for—sweet incense†;” and are expressly announced in the execution, to have been “the pure incense of sweet *spices* according to the work of the apothecary‡.” Nor let us suppose in the degrading taste of such, as think only of corporeal points in objects of a spiritual nature, and fancy every circumstance of worship appointed more from attention to man, than from reverence to God; that this requisition of incense was made to overcome the smell of the beasts slain for sacrifice in the temple, and to keep the rank odours of a slaughterhouse from disgusting the senses of the worshippers. We see the incense required when no temple was yet built, when a tent composed the only fane of God then existing among the Jews, and when consequently no offering but incense was to be made within it§. Nor was an oblation of incense peculiar to the people of God. It was common to all the nations of heathenism. This we see from the very code that prescribes incense to the Jews; prescribing it in so easy a manner, as shews it to have been familiar to the mind of Moses at the time||; and speaking of “the altars for incense,” erected by

* Exodus, xxx. 1, 7, 8.

† Ibid. xxv. 6.

‡ Ibid. xxxvii. 29. The meaning of this is explained by xxx. 34, 35: “Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum, these sweet spices with pure frankincense; of each there shall be a like weight; and thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary.” This was, on pain of death, to be made for the altar alone.

§ Exodus, xl. 5: “Thou shalt set the altar of gold for the incense before the ark of the testimony, and the hanging of the door to the tabernacle; and thou shalt set the altar of burnt-offering before the door of the tabernacle.”

|| Exodus, xxv. 6, ordering “oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense.”

the heathens around them*. Accordingly, we find the temples of heathenism having incense burnt within them, at the religious services of the Greeks. In proof of this I need only mention, that the very terms used most familiarly for sacrificial worship by the Greeks, do, in their primitive import, signify merely an oblation of incense†. We even find the altars of incense in the temples, so early as the very days of Homer; Jupiter retiring, in the Iliad, to “Ida of many fountains, the mother of wild beasts, even to Gargarus, where was the grove of his temple, and his altar breathing incense;”

Ἰδην δ' ἱκάνεν πολυπίδακα, μῆτερ' ἠρώων,
Γαργαρον, ἐνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος Βωμός τε θυεῖς ‡.

Yet, whence was the incense derived? In all the countries adjoining to Arabia, it was derived from this native region of perfumes. When God condescended to prescribe a composition for incense upon his altar, to other spices he expressly added “pure frankincense.” But, “to what purpose,” says God at another time to the Jews, indignant at a reverence, merely external, shewn him, “cometh there to me incense from *Sheba*, and the sweet cane from a far country||?” Sabæa in Arabia, is equally proclaimed by the heathens to have supplied *them* also with their incense§; even “the sweet cane” of Scripture had been brought to Rome, in “rods of frankincense,” so early as the days of Pliny*; and “when Alexander the Great,” says Pliny, “was heaping incense with-

* 2 Chron. xxx. 14, xxxiv. 15; Jeremiah, xi. 12, 17; and xlviii. 35.

† Θυσία, to sacrifice, betrays its original meaning in that of its derivatives, θύα, an odoriferous tree; θυεῖς, odoriferous; θυήλη, the bag in which incense was held; θυήληματα, the incense itself; θυήμα, the same; θυσίη, θυσίη, a censer; θυία, incense; θυίαμα, θυμιασίς, incense; θυμιατήριον, a censer; θυμιασάω, to offer incense; θυώδης, odoriferous; θυώεις, the same; θυώμα, incense.

‡ Iliad viii. 47, 48.

|| Exodus, xxx. 34; and Jeremiah vi. 20.

§ Virgil: “Mittunt sua thura Sabæi;” and Pliny, xii. 14: “Thura, præter Arabiam, nullis, ac ne Arabiæ quidem universæ; in medio ejus ferè sunt atramitæ, pagus Sabæorum, capite regni Sabotâ—; regio eorum thurifera, Saba appellata.”

* Pliny, xii. 14: “Virgis etiam thuris ad nos commeantibus.” This is called “sweet calamus,” in Exodus, xxx. 23; in Ezekiel, xxvii. 22, we see the *spices* were brought to Tyre; “The merchants of Sheba and Raama, they were thy merchants; they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices.”

“out parsimony on the altar, his tutor Leonides told him, that he should
 “supplicate Heaven in so profuse a manner, *when* he had conquered *the*
 “*region where incense grew*; and when Alexander had made himself
 “master of *Arabia*, he sent his tutor a ship-load of incense, exhort-
 “ing him to be liberal in his adoration of the gods†.” Yet the incense
 of Arabia, Pliny tells us, was not introduced into use so early as the
 Trojan war‡; when we have already seen it in familiar use, four hun-
 dred years before. At a very early period, however, the cedar and the
 citron gave their fruits to be burnt for incense§. There was even one
 tree, which assumed to itself the supereminent appellation of the incense-
 tree, and *therefore* appears to have been burnt in the wood itself, like
 “the sweet cane” of Scripture, at sacrifices. “The tree *Thya*,” says
 Pliny, “was known to Homer; by the Greeks it is called Θείον” or Θύον,
 as some copies read, the divine, or the incense; “by others *Thya*,” the
 very same appellation, Θεία, Θύα; “this, then, Homer reports to be burnt
 “in the banquets of that Circe, *whom he wished to be considered as a*
 “*goddess*, to the conviction of a gross error in those who understand
 “mere odours under that word; though, in the very same line, he
 “speaks of the cedar and of the larch with it, so manifesting himself
 “to speak of trees alone||.” This tree grew about the temple of Jupiter
 Hammon, and within the interiors of Cyrene¶. It is even yet known
 under the title of *Thuya*, as a native of warm countries. But the name
 of this tree betrays another secret, telling us that the very term for *incense*
 in Greek, really means *divine*, Θείον, or Θύον; and that even the appropriate

† Pliny, xii. 14: “Alexandro Magno in pueritiâ sine parcimoniâ thura ingerenti aris,
 “pædagogus Leonides dixerat, ut illo modo, cùm devicisset thuriferas gentes, supplicaret;
 “ut ille Arabiâ potitus, thure onustam navem misit ei, exhortatus ut largè deos adoraret.”

‡ Pliny, xiii. 1. “Iliacis temporibus non—thure supplicabatur.”

§ Pliny, xiii. 1: “Cedri—et citri suorum fructicum, in sacris, fumo convolutum ni-
 “dorem veriùs quàm odorem noverant.”

|| Pliny, xiii. 16: “Thya arbor quæ. Nota etiam Homero fuit; Θείον [Dal. Θύον] Græcè
 “vocatur, ab aliis thya; hanc igitur inter odores uri tradit in deliciis Circes, quam deam
 “volebat intelligi; magno errore eorum, qui odoramenta in eo vocabulo accipiunt; cùm
 “præsertim in eodem versu cedrum laricemque una tradat, in quo manifestum est de arbo-
 “ribus tantùm locutum.”

¶ Pliny, xiii. 16.

title for the Arabian frankincense among the Latins, *Thus*, is merely the Greek *Θύος*, and signifies merely the *thing divine**. At last, however, from the growing acquaintance that commerce formed among the nations of the world; lapping round the globe in a chain of gold, the trees of Arabia were found to be particularly calculated for incense; and that predominating business of the world then, the worship of God, instantly appropriated the knowledge to itself. But the timber was now spared, and the gum alone was used, as creating less of a disagreeable smoke, and generating more of an agreeable odour. From that period to the present, Sabæa, or Sheba, has supplied all the heathen, all the Christian world with incense; and has thus had the honour of sending up its spicy gums for more than three thousand years, in offerings—"a sweet savour" unto God.

Hence have been derived into our language the terms *incense* and *censer*, the *incensum* and *incensorium* of the Latins, still retained in the *incenso* and *incensorio* of the Italians. Incense, however, was not introduced into the temples of Christianity very early. It could not be, indeed, till temples were built; till the upper rooms of houses had been superseded by large structures erected for the purpose; till the solemnity of temple-service was nationally transferred to the service of our churches. Accordingly Tertullian, at the end of the second century, says in his Apology for the Christians, "Certainly we do not buy incense, the oblation of it being generally the act of individuals; and, if Arabia com-

* Hasselquist, indeed, says thus, 250: "The gum" Arabic acacia "is gathered in vast quantities from the trees growing in Arabia Petræa, near the north bay of the Red Sea, at the foot of mount Sinai; whence they bring the gum *thus* (frankincense), so called by the dealers in drugs in Egypt, from *thur* and *thor*," as answering to *thus* *thuris*, "which is the name of a harbour in the north bay of the Red Sea." But this name was given it, probably, at first, by the Greeks of Alexandria, the original mart of frankincense (Pliny, xii. 14: "Alexandriæ—thura interpolantur"); and, certainly, ages before any such harbour as Thor or Thur existed, for the importation of the gum across the Red Sea into Egypt. Frankincense was brought out of Arabia so late as the days of Pliny; not from any bay of the Red Sea, to Egypt, but over-land to Gaza in Judæa; "evehi non potest nisi per Gebanitas,—caput eorum Thomma abest à Gazâ, nostri littoris in Judæâ oppidò," lxxx. xxvii. millium passuum, quod dividitur in mansiones camelorum. lxii."

“ plains of this, the Sabæans shall know the Christians expend *their* “ wares at a higher price, and in a larger quantity, for embalming their “ dead, than the heathens in fumigating their gods *.” Incense was not adopted *then* in Christian worship; but it was immediately after the establishment of Christianity, “ incense” being expressly mentioned in the second of those apostolical canons, which are cited by name as early as 394 †; and the “ incense” being then confined, as now, to the eucharist ‡. It thus began with the establishment of Christianity, and went on with it through the ages afterwards. In our own country, and under the year 1141, a monk of Durham describes the profanation of St. Giles’s church near that city, which had been garrisoned by one party and stormed by another, in these terms: “ The violators of peace lighted “ fires in the church, and offered up the smell of the meat which they “ boiled, *instead of the odours of incense* §.” But in our own, and probably in other countries, incense was of a double kind, domestic and foreign. The foreign was dear, even at Rome, and in Pliny’s time ||. This would naturally preserve the cedar and the citron incense from being superseded entirely and universally by the Arabian. The last, in all probability, were used only within superior temples or churches, and the inferior was perfumed with the others only. This at least was obviously the case in our British isles. Here the cones of firs were burnt in most

* Apologeticus, xlii.: “ Thura planè non emimus; si Arabiæ queruntur, scient Sabæi “ pluris et carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quàm diis fumigandis.”

† Cotelierius’s Patres Apostolici, i. 424.

‡ Ibid. 437: θυμίαμα τῷ θυσίῳ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἀναφορᾶς, or, as Dionysius Exiguus renders the passage about 525, “ thymiama, id est, incensum, tempore quo sancta celebratur oblatio.” (Ibid. ibid.) Incense is still confined to the eucharist; and Mr. Pope accordingly says in his description of high mass,

When from the censer clouds of fragrance roll,
And swelling organs, &c.

The second canon, indeed, is urged by some to be interpolated here. But interpolations must be proved before they can be alleged. Mere suspicions and surmises are only cobwebs to catch flies.

§ Wharton’s Anglia Sacra, i. 714: “ In loco, pacis violatores focos accendebant, nidores “ carniū quas coquebant pro thimiātum odoribus adolentes.”

|| Pliny, xii. 14.

of our churches ; and those who have experienced cones in the grates of our parlours, know they make a fine fire, and throw out a fine aromatic. I learn the fact, however, of their being burnt for incense in our churches, from a single solitary passage, accidentally noticed by my eye in Giraldus Cambrensis. “ The numerous woods of Ireland,” remarks this author, “ abound in fir, *the mother of incense and frankincense* ¶.” Yet the gum of Arabia was still used, in superior churches. This I know from a very early period of our history, even as early as the reign of Alfred; that king one day presenting to Asser, then only an abbot in Wales, “ two monasteries—, and a very costly pall of silk, and *a strong man’s burden of INCENSE* *.” That incense was used among the *Britons* before the Saxons, is evident from the Roman names for it, and the censer still remaining in the *British* dialects; *Thys* and *Thysser* in Welsh, *Enkois*, *Inkois*, and *Inkoislester* in Cornish; *Tuis*, *Tuisken*, *Tuiskean*, and *Tuirieval* in Irish †. And it was this distinction of incense into foreign or domestic, I apprehend, which has produced that otherwise unaccountable variation of titles for it in our language, *incense* and *frankincense*; titles not always kept distinct, but plainly meant to be so; the former being a name common to both, and the latter an appropriate name for the foreign. Yet this is not appropriated, as Skinner dreams, because the gum is burnt with a frank liberality on the altar; or, as Johnson dreams in the same tenour of reveries, with a nearer approach, however, to reason and reality, from its frank distribution of odours; but from its coming to our Saxon ancestors, I believe, through the country of France, the Franc-land of the Saxons. So it even comes to our neighbours at present; as “ the greatest part is carried,” *even now*, from Cairo in Egypt “ to *Marseilles*” in France, “ whence it is by the Dutch carried to Muscovy;” and “ a large quantity is burnt by the Muscovites

¶ Camden’s *Anglica*, &c. 739: “ Abundat abiete sylvositas Hiberniæ, thuris et incensi matre.”

* Asser, 50: “ Mihi eodem die tradidit—duo monasteria—, et sericum pallium valdè pretiosum, et onus viri fortis de incenso.”

† Lhuyd under *Thus Thuribulum*. Richards’s Dictionary and O’Brien’s are both defective here: the former omits both the Welsh words, and the latter has only the Irish first.

“ and

“and Roman Catholics in their churches ‡.” *We*, in our extended commerce, might bring it directly from Cairo: but growing more penurious in our worship of God, as we become more expensive in attentions to ourselves, *inverting* the character which does high honour to the earlier Romans, of being “frugal in the management of their houses, but magnificent in the economy of their temples §,” and sinking in religious dignity of sentiment infinitely lower than the very heathens themselves; ever since the Reformation we have ceased to use it even in our royal chapels. Thus, whatever we may hear of the churches abroad, Greek or Romish, whatever we may read of the practice of angels in Heaven, yet, even at the chapel-royal, never does “the smoke of the incense—come “with the prayers of the saints,” and “ascend up before God ||;” dispensing its grateful odours around, so uniting with music, with paintings, to gratify all the dignified, the intellectual senses of the body, and to wrap the whole man into that which is his highest feeling, as well as his greatest glory, an ecstasy of devotion towards God ¶.”

With this incense in the church, and with those robes on the officiator in it, “at the upper end of” what Mr. Willis calls its “south isle and “nave,” as he remarks, “near the high altar, are niches handsomely “carved in stone, together with an ancient monument under an arch in “the wall, erected here after rebuilding this part*.” All this is an accumulation of errors. The “niches, handsomely carved in stone,” are ap-

‡ Hasselquist, 297.

§ Sallust in Catilina, ix.: “In suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci.”

|| Rev. viii. 3, 4.

¶ As an additional proof of the coming of incense into Britain, let me notice this passage in the Description of London by Fitz-Stephens: “Ad hanc urbem, ex omni natione quæ “sub cœlo est, navalia gaudent institores,” those of Marseilles particularly for the incense, “habere commercia:

“Aurum mittit Arabs, species et thura Sabæus.”

Pegge’s edition in 1772. “These articles, which were then very valuable,” before we opened a direct communication with the spice-islands of the East-Indies, “came from “Arabia Felix, and the countries still more eastern,” even the very Spice-islands themselves (I suppose), ultimately, “to Alexandria; and thence were imported” by Marseilles “into “Europe.” Pegge’s note to his translation, p. 40.

* Willis, 151, 152.

parently the throne and the stall, thus slightly noticed by the undistinguishing pen of a writer; who, if he had known their real quality, would have placed himself with an antiquary's satisfaction in the seat of the one, and have knelt with an episcopalian's reverence at the foot of the other. He considered them only as mere "niches," so lost the reverence in his inattention, and missed the satisfaction in his ignorance. Antiquaries are generally supposed by "the million," to view objects through a microscopic glass, thus to see much more than nature presents to the naked eye, and indeed to talk of beholding what "the great vulgar and the "small" can never believe to exist. But we here find an antiquary, who has reversed the case entirely, whose microscope is as dull as the commonest eye, and who could not see what was apparent before him. He looked at a niche, but beheld not a throne. He viewed it, but surveyed not the expressive accompaniments of it. He saw not the mitre particularly at the top of it. Though this is no less than three feet six inches in length, from the base to the summit; though the cross upon the summit is no less than one foot in length; though both come projecting from the wall, and both stand conspicuous to the eye, with a window on each side of them; yet he saw them not. Minds *not* informed with antiquarian knowledge, though manly in their general exertions, and practised in intellectual exercises, are apt to impose upon themselves for fear of being imposed upon by antiquaries, and take refuge in a kind of wilful blindness from the dreaded credulity of antiquarianism. But that an antiquary, one so much an antiquary as to be deservedly smiled at for his credulity by many, should not see even while he beheld, is a very singular phenomenon in the reigns of literature. Yet even *he* wanted some brother-antiquary to stand by him, as Michael stands by Adam in Milton:

..... then purge with euphrasy and rue
The visual nerve, for he had much to see,
And from the well of life three drops instil.

For want of this, missing that grand accompaniment the mitre, he might well miss the others, the small dove over-head, the tall croziers at the sides, and even the high elevation of the whole niche above the level of the floor: yet all should have united to flash conviction in a stream

stream of lightning on his mind, to rouse him from the lethargy of vulgar spirits, and awaken him to the reality displayed before his eyes.

But unawakened, unroused, he appears to have gone on, walking in his sleep, stumbling at every step, and plunging out of one difficulty into another. He must have heard the tradition concerning the tomb, the throne, the door, and the palace, of the bishop; yet he turned a deaf ear to the sound, notes not the palace or the door at all, notes the tomb only as "an ancient monument under an arch in the wall," and notes the throne, the stall, as merely two "niches." So much were his eyes and his ears in a conspiracy together against the truth! Then his understanding sunk at last into that pitfall of *incredulous credulity*, to suppose, even to aver, the tomb and the niches were "erected here after rebuilding this part." He thus supposes a *rebuilding*, for which he attempts not to produce any the most hypothetical reason; and avers, what he pretends not to prove by any the most frivolous evidence. No rebuilding appears to have ever taken place. The door of the bishop, now blocked up by the rising earth without, of itself proves that none has: nor would even a rebuilding, if as real as it is imaginary, at all solve those difficulties concerning the niches and the arch; for the solution of which it seems to have been fancied by Mr. Willis. The arch and niches were "erected here," he says, "after rebuilding this part." If they were thus erected, they could not possibly be wrought into the very substance of the wall: yet so wrought we have actually found the tomb; and so wrought are the door, the stall, the throne, apparently to every eye.

Let us attend, however, to one more mistake in Mr. Willis, because it may equally deceive. "Over which," he subjoins concerning his niches and monument, "were painted, I presume, those effigies of bishops mentioned in Leland, which it is a great pity should have been defaced*." The want of preciseness here is as remarkable as the absence of truth. He specifies not, over which of the three he fancies the images to have been placed; and he unwittingly intimates, that they were over

* Willis, 152.

all. With so much confusedness of ideas and terms, we must not expect any justness of reasoning. Mr. Willis, indeed, has applied to the south aisle, what Leland has confined to the chancel, and what can suit the chancel alone. "Beside the hye altare of the same priory," says Leland, "on the ryght hand ys a tumbe yn the walle with an image of a bishop, and over the tumbe a xi bishops paynted*," &c. We thus find the paintings were over the tomb. But was this tomb that in the south aisle? It certainly was *not*; it was in the "priory" part of the church, while that is in the parish part. It was "beside the hye altare," while that is nearly half the length of the church, from any altar that could ever have been in the aisle. There was, indeed, no "hye altare" in the aisle, there could be none, though Mr. Willis has previously given it one, and (as now appears) from the meditated transfer to the aisle, of this passage in Leland concerning the chancel; because *there could be only one* when the aisle was a church of itself, and there could be no "hye altare" while there was only one; because too, when the church was turned into an aisle, "the hye altare" was certainly placed at the upper end of the chancel, and only an inferior altar could then have remained here. So many mistakes in his account of this church has *he* made, who in general merits high commendation from all his brethren of the antiquarian family, whose knowledge was considerable, whose industry was unremitted, and who by both is holding out the torch to thousands at present.

Yet let me add concerning the throne and its accompaniments, that these were so loudly pointed out by tradition to be what they plainly are, as to attract the notice, and call out the zeal of the Presbyterians in the seventeenth century. Highly charged as the Presbyterians were with electrical fire, against popery, and against what their Bedlamite ideas had associated with it, prelacy; a bishop's throne, a bishop's mitre, a crozier, and a cross, the last from the same insanity of associations combined invidiously with the three others, were sure to draw forth the sparks in great abundance, and feel them discharged in a burst of lightning. They

* Leland's Itin. vii. 122.

accordingly went to work, with the seeming animosity of heathenism against Christianity, to demolish the cross, the croziers, and the mitre here, by chipping them with adzes, and levelling the projection of them. They have thus effaced some parts of the croziers, and taken off much from the bold relievo of all. But, as all were formed of very hard stone, the labour became too tedious, fanaticism languished in its Gothic exertions, and indolence had recourse to a more compendious process. They luckily resolved to conceal what they could not easily destroy. They filled up the deeper part of the throne, even the deeper part of the stall adjoining, with a wall of stone; and they covered the mitre, the cross, as well as the upper end of the throne, with the arms of the state. Then too, undoubtedly, were the four plates torn off from the tomb of the bishops; as the farther of the four, from the wall resting upon one side of it, must have required some extraordinary violence to extract it. Nor let us impute any of those rude and anti-christian outrages upon these venerable monuments, to the influence of that son of the first Eliot, who is so well known as a patriot in the days of Charles, under the knightly title of sir John. He died long before, in November 1632; and his son, then in his twenty-first year, appears not to have taken any part in the civil confusions afterward, not even serving in the parliament of 1641 *. All was done assuredly without any encouragement from Port-Eliot, perhaps with remonstrances from it, by that wild zeal against monuments of antiquity, which always actuates the vanity of vulgar reformers, and which was thrown into a sharp ferment in the Presbyterians, by their just abhorrence of popery, as well as by the native sourness of their own spirits. Thus was the depth of the stall and throne, the upper half of the latter, but the whole of the cross and mitre, concealed for a great number of years; even till the Rev. Mr. Trevanion, who died minister here in 1772 aged about thirty-five only, began to explore the walls, for what he must have learnt merely from tradition to be there. He probed the niche in the eastern wall, he probed the niche in the southern, with his penknife, as the first instrument ready to his hand at the moment; found the adventitious wall within both, procured a mason, and set him

* Willis, 146, 153.

to clear both from their presbyterian obstructions. Then, in the progress of discovery, in the pursuit of light breaking in upon him, he took away that screen of dust and darkness, the royal arms, from the mitre, the cross, the croziers, and the throne. So very early, indeed, as Mr. Willis's visit to this church, and before the year of his publication 1716, we see the throne equally apparent to the eye with the stall; and both therefore described by him as "niches handsomely carv'd in stone," "at the upper end" of the aisle, "near the high altar." They were both apparent, though much contracted in their depth, and so, perhaps, seeming to be niches only. Yet the croziers, I am forced to say, could *not* be covered when the hollow of the throne was manifest, however reduced; and must have been obvious with all their defacements, upon each side of it. These therefore should have led the critical sagacity of antiquarianism, to trace out the design of the hollow, to pursue it under the royal arms, thus to anticipate the exploring hand of Mr. Trevanion, and to make *his* discovery of the croziers, the mitre, the cross, and the throne. A critical antiquary should be in sagacity, in struggles, and in success, like that celebrated general of Greece, Aristomenes; who, being taken prisoner by his enemies, precipitated with fifty others into a deep dungeon, and the only one of the number that escaped death in the fall, had sufficient quickness of perception to see a fox feeding upon the carcasses, and sufficient presence of mind to meditate his deliverance by it; seized it therefore with one hand by the mouth, and with another by the tail; then let it lead him to the narrow opening by which it came in, followed it into the opening holding by its tail, thus wriggled slowly with it through the winding hole, at last saw light, dismissed his guide, worked his way safely into liberty, and to the astonishment of his enemies, who supposed him long since incorporated with the mass of carnage in their dungeon, appeared at the head of his soldiery again, to be victorious again with them. But Mr. Willis was not an Aristomenes; he had no fox to guide him; he had no sagacity to make it his guide, if he had found one; he saw the opening, but pressed not in; he even beheld the light, but pushed not for it; he sunk under his difficulties, despairing of all relief, and not trying for any; he either looked not under the arms, or saw nothing there to inform him. He thus left a young antiquary to do, what he should have

have done himself. And could he now behold, what Mr. Trevanion has done; see the croziers, the throne, the mitre, the cross, and the stall, all exhibiting themselves in their full dimensions to the eye; hear the corroborating reports of tradition concerning all, concerning also the tomb, the door, and the palace; then *be told the precise relation of each to each, with the full reference of all to the church, as the ancient cathedral of Cornwall*; he would stand amazed at his own want of attention to objects so apparent in themselves, he would be fixed in astonishment to find his eyes had been so dim, his ears so dull,

And knowledge at *each* entrance quite shut out.

But he would triumph through all his antiquarian feelings, at the happiness of the whole discovery.

When the CROZIER became a mark of episcopacy, I know not; as I see no traces of it in the earliest antiquity. It was originally, I believe, the mere walking-stick of our aged prelates, religiously decorated with a cross at the top, and so forming the first crutch-stick ever used. Accordingly, the crozier, even of so late and so active a prelate as Becket, which was preserved as a relic to the Reformation, is noticed by Erasmus to have been merely “a cane, plated over with silver, light in its weight, plain in its appearance, and no taller than to reach up from the ground to the girdle.” It thence became a baton of honour, and was lengthened into a crutch-staff, for an ensign of episcopacy. Thus we find the patriarch of Abyssinia carrying in his hand a staff formed into a cross, even*

* Somner, 95, from Erasmus, in Peregrin. Religionis ergo : “Ibidem vidimus pedum divi Thomæ. Videbatur arundo, laminâ argenteâ obvestita, minimum erat ponderis, nihil operis, nec altius quàm usque ad cingulum’.” We can even trace this crozier, till it was engulfed in the swallow of Henry’s avarice; a note of the time mentioning, as delivered to the king on April the 27th, 1541, with other articles from Christ-church, in Canterbury, “a staffe garnished with silver, called *Thomas Bekket’s staffe*.” (Steevens’s Additions to Monasticon, i. 86.) I know not that any writer has ever noticed the chair of Becket, as preserved for a relic at Canterbury; yet it seems to have been, from this additional article in ibid. 87 : “Item, delivered more unto his majesty a *chair of woode*, covered with crymsey [crimson] velvet, and the pomells and handells thereof garnished with silver, *parcell of such stufte as came from Canterburge*.”

very recently. The Greek archbishop of Philadelphia too, says an author who saw him in the seventeenth century, "had a *long* staff, black, "and silvered over; *the top of it was like a crutch* †." Even in our own country, and in the late days of archbishop Chicheley, upon his monument existing at his cathedral of Canterbury, we see his crozier exhibited, and find it "is as *substantial* as that of an halbert, as *tall* as "the man" himself, "and has a cross at the top;" so being, in fact, the very configuration of our croziers at St. German's ‡. Such was the original form of the crozier; the same in Africa, the same in Asia, and the same in Europe! But, in Europe, the form has been varied; the cross at the top being curved into a crook, and the whole denominated a *baculum pastorale*, or *pastoral staff*, in a fanciful allusion to the care of bishops over their flocks. The allusion gave rise to the form, and the fancy started forth into a reality. In this form have been almost all the croziers of our island, for some ages. Yet, as the very appellation of *crozier* in English, and of *crosse* in French for it, proves it to have been formed originally with a cross at the top; so do the two croziers, exhibited on the walls of St. German's church, and the two once existing, or now exhibited at Canterbury, come in very usefully to corroborate the proof, to shew us the crozier in its primitive form, and to carry this form up to an early period in our own country.

We even see the crozier retaining this very appellation and form, among the Britons of Wales, at a period very early. "In this province of Warthrenion," says Giraldus Cambrensis, about the year 1175, concerning a region near Radnor, "in the church of *St. Germanus*," our own saint, whom we know to have personally visited that region, "is "found a *staff*, which is said to have been that of St. Cyricus," a saint having equally a relation (I believe) to Wales and to Cornwall, being born, probably, in Cornwall, as he has several churches dedicated to him in it §; but being a bishop in Wales, as his crozier was left to this

† Arch. i. 344.

‡ Gostling, 286.

§ So Luxulyan is dedicated to St. *Cyricus* and Julieta, and Vepe to St. *Ciricius*, as the name is varyingly written; or, as Leland more varyingly writes the name, "in the middle
" of

this church, and having, perhaps, his crozier left there by St. Germanus himself; “at the top *it is protended a little on both sides in the form of a cross*, covered all round with silver and gold*.” This is far the oldest crozier, I believe, that is noticed in the whole isle. We afterwards see the crozier familiarly mentioned in those Welsh laws of the tenth century, which are mere transcripts in their substance from the ancient institutes of the Britons†; find it distinguished by the same appellation of a *staff*, as St. Cyric’s, and therefore have a right to infer it still retaining the same configuration as his. “If two ecclesiastics,” says the code of Howel Dha, “having the privilege of the *bagl*,” baculum, or staff, “either bishops or abbots,” just as the French speak of an abbot, *mitré et crossé*, mitred and croziered, “are engaged in settling boundaries; he, whose state is superior to the other’s, shall determine, on oath being first taken upon his *bagl* and his Gospel, which *bagl* and Gospel shall be both there when the oath is taken‡.” “A church,” adds the code, “has one prerogative above the king’s court; that, in settling the limits of lands, it shall swear first, provided it has the privilege of the *bagl* and Gospel§.” “When the church determines,” the code de-

“of this creek,” what Leland calls “S. Carac creek,” running out from Leryn creek, between St. Veep and Lestwithiel, “on the north side was a litle celle of Sainct Cyret and Juletta, longging to Montegue [Montacute] priory,” in Somersetshire; “from the mouth of S. Carak pille,” &c. (Itin. iii. 37); but called “prior. S. Cyriaci,” in Itin. viii. 66. From the union of Julieta to Cyric or Cyret, in two of these notices, the saint seems to have been a married one, and to have been, therefore, put into the calendar of Cornwall *with his wife*. Just so, the saint of Probus parish, in Cornwall, is popularly denominated, at that season when he is principally mentioned, the days of the parish-feast, Probus *and Grace*; and the saint, also, of Veryan, equally unknown with Probus, I understand to have been lately exhibited in painting upon one of the windows, with his wife at his side. So well known is St. Cyric in Cornwall; but in Wales is almost wholly unknown at present, only one church, Langurrick, in Montgomeryshire, acknowledging him. (Leland’s Itin. v. 86, and Liber Regis.)

* Camdeni Anglica, Normannica, &c. p. 821: “In hâc eâdem provinciâ de Warthre-nion [see Nennius, c. xlv.], in ecclesiâ videlicet Sancti Germani, baculus, qui Sancti Cyrici dicitur, invenitur; superiùs in crucis modum paulisper utrinque protensus, auro et argento undique contextus.”

† Hist. of Manchester, i. viii. 3, octavo.

‡ Wotton, 453.

§ Wotton, 153.

clares again, "the bounds shall be settled" by the *bishop* as is *meant*, but "by the *bagl* and Gospel," as is *expressed*; the bishop being familiarly designed by those two well-known memorials of his quality *. To mention only one instance more: Howel Dha is said expressly for the formation of this code, to have assembled men "who had the dignity of "the *bagl*, bishops, archbishops, abbots, and learned doctors;" or, as another manuscript reads with more propriety and explicitness, "all "churchmen that had the privilege of the *bagl*, namely, the *archbishop* "of *St. David's*, the bishops, and abbots, and priors†."

* Wotton, 172.

† Wotton, 4: "Bagl," which here he renders "Virga," and fancies "a verge or mace;" directly contradicting the whole current of analogy in the text, in his own translation, and in one of his own notes. There, p. 172, he remarks, "Baculum hinc videtur esse *pedum pas-torale*." In his own Glossary, too, at the end of all, he speaks thus in a positive tone of voice, while he explains, "*bagl* ac *effengyl*" to be "*pedum pastorale*, et Evangelium; "dicitur de episcopis et abbatibus, qui jus coram se gestandi Evangelii et *pedi* habuerunt." (P. 557.) Wotton was uninformed at his outset concerning the meaning of the word, and therefore rendered it a verge or mace; but became acquainted with the meaning as he proceeded, and with some little dubiousness translated it a pastoral crook; yet, at the conclusion, rose into full assurance, without any dubiousness explaining it to mean a crook. This progress and march of the mind is a very natural one, what happens continually in literary pursuits. The only strangeness at present is, that at the conclusion he did not turn back to p. 172, there to change the old dubiousness into his new certainty; and that then he did not still more turn to p. 4, there to alter the verge or mace into what he now knew it should be, a crook.—In the same strain he censures the word *priors*, and makes the persons *lawyers*, with Blegorid at their head (p. 6); when, in p. 4, he makes Blegorid expressly to be a clergyman, even archdeacon of Llandaff; when, in the very reading that he prefers, "the "bishops, archbishops" in the plural, though there was only one in all Wales, "abbots "and learned doctors," are all expressly said to have had "the dignity of the *bagl*" (p. 4); and when, in one of his copies, there is a reading that speaks for its own propriety, tells explicitly they were "churchmen who had the privilege of the *bagl*," and then recites them by name, as "the archbishop of *St. David's*, the bishops, the abbots, and priors" (p. 6). That "*prior* was not a name in use during the age of Howel," as Wotton alleges in p. 6, is most probably not true in fact; priors appearing at Canterbury so early as 1088, appearing as priors are ranged in Howel's laws, distinct from abbots, but inferior to them, as officers well known there, coæval with abbots, probably, and certainly of a long standing. (Sax. Chron. 179, 180.) The abbot is as old as the monastery there (Bede, 38, 39, 209, 294); and the prior is asserted by archbishop Baldwin in the twelfth century, to be equally old (Twisden, 1304, Gervase: "Ab antiquis temporibus—positio et depositio prioris, sub-prioris"). See also Bentham for Ely, 125, 126.

We thus see the crozier retaining its primitive appellation of a staff; and therefore infer it from St. Cyric's before, to preserve equally its primitive form of one, among the Britons of Wales to the tenth century. But we see the inference remarkably confirmed, by a variation that took place in the very name, when the form came to be varied. What was nearly a crutch-staff, was naturally denominated a *bagl*, or staff; but, when it was turned into a crook, it was as naturally denominated a *cambaca*, or crooked staff. The crook superseding the cross at the top, the appellation of *cambaca* superseded the name of *bagl* for it*; and we find nearly the same mutation of names with the same variation of forms among ourselves. We first find the original form with the original name, among the Saxons and early Normans. So late as the reign of Rufus, and under the year 1094, the Saxon Chronicle notices that king to have taken the bishopric of Thetford from one Herbert, by saying he deprived the bishop of "his staff†." In the succeeding reign of Henry and the year 1102, the king is equally declared to have deprived many clergymen, both French and English, of their *stoffs*, and their "*rice*," of their episcopal quality and episcopal *kingdom*, their respective bishoprics‡. All this while, the shape was transmitted equally with the name; the name being continued no later in the Saxon Chronicle, and the shape varying just about the same year. In the only representation that we have of the last king of the Saxons in England, Harold,

* Spelman, in Glossary, 55, says thus under *Baculosus Ecclesiasticus*: "In L.L. M.S. "Hoeli Boni dicitur pro episcopo, vel abbate episcopali functo jurisdictione, utpote qui "*laculo pastorali* insignitur, quem eo seculo *cambocam* vocabant." There is no such word as *camboca* to be found in Welsh at present; though it actually appears, as we here find from Spelman, in some copies of Howel's Laws. So deficient in its very enumeration of words, is the very best Lexicon that we had of Welsh, Richards's; before we were favoured with the Lexicon now in publication by William Owen, F. S. A. But *Cam*, crooked, and *Back*, the same in Cornish as *Bagl* in Welsh, the same, therefore, in Welsh formerly, would compound into *cam-baca*, or *cam-boca* in Latin, and signify a crooked staff. The word had been inserted in some copies of the laws, and Spelman had met with a copy bearing it, as one more familiar to the eye and ear after the form had been varied, than the original *bagl* was.

† Sax. Chron. p. 200.

‡ Sax. Chron. p. 210.

which is a beautiful illuminated drawing in a prayer-book of Harold's own century, the eleventh; two bishops, one upon each side, appear each holding up his right hand to bless, and each having in his left a crozier, exactly similar to our own at St. German's, tall and crutch-like§. We also see Odo, bishop of Bayeux, in Normandy, represented upon his seal as equally holding up his right hand to bless, and as equally having in his left a crozier exactly the same in shape with our own*. But Anselm, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, five years before the death of Odo, is exhibited upon his own seal equally in the act of blessing, and equally with a crozier in one hand; yet a crozier, *no longer crossed or crutched at the top*, and actually *curved into a crook there*†. Anselm thus stands before us, in all probability the first introducer of the crozier-crook among us, and in full certainty the first who is known to carry it, the superseder of the crozier-staff in his own practice, the superseder of it in others by imitation, and the abolisher almost of the very memory of it within a couple of centuries afterward‡.

But

§ Ducarrel, p. 1, preface, iv.

* Ducarrel, 75; preface, vi.; and Arch. i. 336.

† Ducarrel, 59. See Sax. Chron. p. 198, for Anselm; and Malmesbury, f. 63, for Odo. A crozier of the original form assuredly, and one certainly very remarkable in itself, is thus mentioned by Simeon Dunelmensis in some account of Odo; "*quædam etiam ex ornamentis ecclesiæ [Dunelmensis], inter quæ et baculum pastoralem materiâ et arte mirandum, erat enim DE SAPHIRO FACTUS, præfatus episcopus abstulit.*" (Twisden, c. 48.) The whole *cross* or *crutch* part, I presume, was formed of one occidental sapphire.

‡ Of this we have a remarkable proof. "There are" within the cathedral of Ely, "—eight pieces of sculpture, one on *each* side of the *pillars* that *support the dome and lantern*; all of them historical, and relate [relating] to the history of our St. Etheldreda." (Bentham, 52.) To know the age of these sculptures, which have some crozier-crooks in them, we must not refer to the general construction of the church, under the years 1081-1215 (ibid. 107, 108, 117, 118, 143, 145). No! We must go much lower. "In the beginning of the year 1322,—the old tower in the middle of the church suddenly falling down, ruined also the choir that was under it. The sacrist, to whom the care, oversight, and repairs of the fabric belonged, the same year formed the design and plan, and laid the foundations, of that more convenient as well as more elegant kind of structure in its room, which we now see; *it is of an octagon form supported by eight pillars, covered with a dome, and crowned with a spacious lantern.*" (Ibid. 157.) This then is the date of the sculptures, as it is the date of the pillars on which they are found; though Mr. Bentham has strangely left us to settle by ourselves the age of those very sculptures, which he thought it worth

But let me now turn to the MITRE. This kind of episcopal coronet, which has been for ages appropriated to the heads of bishops, which is still worn by officiating bishops on the continent, which was formerly worn by our own, and is retained by them in signature or representation at present, makes its historical appearance in our island, even among the Saxons. Thus Elphege, who was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1006, is recorded to have continued through the whole day on high festivals, in the same dress in which he had officiated at the altar before, “robed in white, covered with a pall over that, and having a *mitre* “tied upon his locks*.” Nor is this the only mention of that episcopal ornament in the Saxon period. The historian of Ramsey, writing, perhaps, after the Conquest, as his history is continued by his own, or another’s hand below this æra †, but using certainly the language which had been long familiar to the ears of scholars; says that Etheric, a young monk of Ramsey, who was at last made bishop of Dorchester by Canute, was by his virtues preparing himself from his youth for the episcopal dignity; and expresses this sentiment in these words, “was preparing “for himself the *pontifical diadem* ‡.” Oswald, successively bishop of

worth while to delineate and engrave for his readers. From them we now learn, that, in a couple of centuries, the new crozier was become so familiar to the eyes and minds even of scholars, as to have buried nearly all memory and extinguished nearly all knowledge of the old; to have been thus put into the hands of prelates before the Conquest, of prelates four centuries before; and so to have been apparently considered by the sculptors, by their directors, or by both, as the Norman, the Saxon, the primitive crozier of the church. There are therefore no less than six crozier-crooks, in three sculptures of plates xi. and xii.; though these refer to events in the biography of St. Etheldreda, happening about the middle of the *seventh* century. - Yet in *one* of plate xii. the sculptor, or the director, had such an insight into the erroneousness of the form in the three others; as to desert it, to shape *his* crozier in the mould of antiquity, and to put a regular crozier-staff, tall and crutch-like, but with the top rising *above* the cross-piece, into the hands of an abbot. See No. 7, p. 58.

* Twisden, c. 1649: “In vestitu candido, desuper amictus pallio, mitrâ cæsarie constrictus.”

† See Gale’s account of him.

‡ Gale, i. 434: “Pontificalem sibi infulam præparavit.” So, at the general wreck of ecclesiastical antiquities in the storm of the Reformation, we find brought to the sacrilegious king “a *pontifical* of gold, wherein is set a great sapphire, boith” it and a cross “beinge “parcells of such stuffe as came from Wynchester.” (Steevens’s Additions to Monasticon, i. 84.)

Worcester and archbishop of York, died in 992 §; was buried in the cathedral, which he built himself at Worcester; but left, as Stubbs informs us, “his *diadem* of *purple* colour,” which was therefore fabricated of *cloth*, and not of *metal*, as the later mitres always were of silver gilt, I believe, and as the only mitre (I apprehend) now remaining in the kingdom, that of Wickham at New College in Oxford, is at present; “decorated with gold and gems; to be preserved at this day in the church of Beverley, and to shine still with its original beauty ||.” We even find an abbot of Ely in the same reign of Canute, presenting many fine dresses for the officiating abbot and monks, among which was “a *diadem* “of a *ruby* colour,” equally fabricated therefore of *cloth*, “stiffened out “behind,” as *cloth*, “by wonderful workmanship with flowers both “above and below, but guarded before with gems and gold in a kind of “roof-work ¶.” Even that very cloak of purple, which Edgar used to wear himself, but presented to the church of Ely, “was” (says positively the historian of Ely) “made into a diadem *.” These notices are as curious in their quality, as they are new in their exhibition to the public, demonstrate the existence of Saxon mitres, even inform us very clearly of their materials and their ornaments †.

§ Sax. Chron.

|| Twisden, c. 1699: “Hujus infula purpurea, et auro, gemmis ornata, et priscâ pulchritudine fulgida, Beverlacensi adhuc reservatur ecclesiâ.” The list made at the Reformation, of objects for plunder belonging to the cathedral of Winchester, mentions “three “standing mitres of *silver* gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones, item, ten old “mitres,” not *standing*, not of silver, but “garnished with pearls and stones *after the old “fashion.*” (Hist. of Winchester, i. 26.)

¶ Gale, i. 504: “Infula rubea, mirando opere subtus et desuper floribus retro extensa, et “velut quôdam tabulatu gemmis et auro antè munitus[munita].” This donation, from one of his own abbots to his own church and monastery, is totally omitted by the historian of all, Bentham, 92-97.

* See ii. 3, before, and Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 604: “De quâ infula facta est.”

† I might have adduced as a proof of the *early* use of mitres among the Saxons, that a statue of St. Erkenwald, who was bishop of London about 674 (Bede, iv. 6), was kept there to the Reformation with a *mitre* on his head and a crozier in his hand; as *then* was seized by the king “an image of Seynt Erkenwalde with his *myter* and crosier gilt.” (Steevens's *Additions to Monasticon*, i. 84.) But, as the argument must have been founded upon the identity of dress in the statue, from the first to the last, I declined to use it.

Nor need we be anxious about the British existence of mitres; though we have proved the mitre on the wall of our St. German's church, to be coæval with the church itself, and have referred the construction of the church, to the Britons of the seventh century. This personal decoration of the officiating prelates of our religion, was introduced among us undoubtedly with the establishment of our religion itself, from the continent of the Roman empire; when the zeal that induced the insular, the continental natives to embrace Christianity, equally induced them to honour the Master in his minister, to throw a particular lustre of dignity over the prelates, to seat their persons upon *thrones*, and to cover their heads with *crowns*. Thus we find in the very first periods of established Christianity, that bishops were distinguished by having a seat in the church, which was denominated a throne; as Eusebius calls the seat of the bishop at Jerusalem "the apostolic throne," because the apostle James had sitten in it, and as Gregory Nazianzen entitles the seat of the prelate at Alexandria, for a similar reason, "the throne of St. Mark †." Just so we see the bishops in general addressed by compellations referring to their mitres; the common form being nearly such as we now use to our kings, to supplicate them by their *crown*, or to sue to the *crown* upon them; this very form appearing in Sidonius Apollinaris, Ennodius, Austin, and Jerome, the very citizens of that empire in which the Britons were equally included, the very members of that church into which the Britons had been equally initiated, and only speaking the current language of all the empire, all the church, for a century or two before §.

Yet

† Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, i. 127, 128, edit. 2d, 1720.

§ Bingham, i. 124, 125: "Sidon. lib. 6, ep. 3, 'Auctoritas coronæ tuæ', &c. Idem, lib. 7, ep. 8, ad Euphron. 'De minimis rebus coronam tuam, maximisque, consulerem.' Ennod. lib. 4, ep. 29, ad Symonac. lib. 5, ep. 17, ad Marcellinum," &c. &c. Bingham, whose learning is greater than his judgment, argues against the word *corona* signifying a *mitre* in the passages above. But both his arguments revolt from their master, and turn their force against him. "Savaro and some others fancy," he cries in i. 125, "it respected the ancient figure of the clerical tonsure, by which the hair was cut into a round form from the crown of the head downwards." Yet, as he subjoins himself in 127, this "tonsure," though "sometimes called *corona*,—was not peculiar to bishops, but common to all the clergy." An address to bishops therefore by such a reference would have been so far from "prefacing the discourse with some title of honour," which Bingham himself, in 125, expressly

Yet still a question recurs to the inquisitive mind, when and from whence this peculiar kind of crown was selected, as an ornament to the heads of bishops. This question I wish to answer satisfactorily, because Montfaucon has erred egregiously concerning it, and his authority is likely to carry a sinister influence upon my readers. "The episcopal mitre," he avers, "*six or seven centuries ago was only a bonnet or cap with a sharp point,*" and not "the mitre of these later ages ||." This averment, however, is very false. In contradiction to it, I need only appeal to the mitre on the walls of our own church. That refutes the assertion directly. That cannot be later than the throne, over which it is carved;

expressly states the other to be, that it would have been a degradation, and have levelled the bishops with the merest monks. We might as well believe, that the compellation was by the *crown* of their head, and so have put them at once upon a footing with all mankind. "It seems most probable," for this reason (I suppose) adds Bingham in 126, "that it was no more than a metaphorical expression, used to denote the honour and dignity of the episcopal order." But this it could never have denoted, unless it referred to some decoration of dignity and honour used before. To solicit a king by his crown is proper, because he wears a crown; but to solicit any person by the crown which he does *not* wear, would be only burlesque or ridicule: and as that piety, which gave a throne, would naturally give a crown to a bishop; so we find both among the Christians of the Roman empire.

|| Montfaucon's Ant. Exp. i. i. 3. So in "Encyclopedie Methodique," published at Paris in 1789, under *Mitre*, "la forme de cet ornement n'a pas toujours ete la même," and "les mitres, que l'on voit sur un tombeau d'évêques a S. Remy de Rheims, ressemblent plus à une coëffe qu'à un bonnet." Just in the same manner, upon the sculptures that are on some pillars in Ely cathedral, are the heads of two bishops wearing conical caps, the very mitres assuredly of Montfaucon and of St. Remy. (See Bentham's Ely, p. 48, No. 1, 2.) But then these sculptures I have lately shewn to be as recent as the *fourteenth* century. Even with these figures upon some of the sculptures appear heads equally episcopal, as having each a crozier borne by an attendant close to it, ornamented with the present mitres. (See *ibid.* p. 54, plate xi. fig. 5, and p. 58, plate xii. fig. 7.) The conical cap therefore appears to have been not the same with the mitre, but a different kind of head-covering; used indeed, upon solemn acts of office equally with the mitre, as it is used by the very bishop who is pronouncing the benediction, in the marriage-service of Etheldreda and king Egfrid (Bentham, p. 48); yet used only as we see coronets actually used by two croziered persons (Bentham, p. 58), and as we also see even a flat cap with a double string of beads, used by a third (Bentham, p. 58). Those therefore can no more be mitres than *these*. But the appearance of those upon the heads of bishops accounts at once for the erroneous supposition of their being mitres.

and

and neither of them can be later than the episcopal dignity, once attached to the church: that therefore cannot be less than “six or seven centuries” old; as I shall hereafter shew the dignity to have been taken away, more than *seven* centuries ago.*. But we can happily mount to a much earlier period, and Montfaucon himself shall aid us in our ascent.

Gemmeus iste tibi miles et hostis erit.

“We come now,” says this very extensively learned writer, “to the most curious and singular representation of the Syrian goddess,” Cybele; “this is the inscription, *Mater Deor. Mater Syriæ*. The figure “is very extraordinary and remarkable in all its parts. She is in a sitting posture, and hath upon her head AN EPISCOPAL MITRE, adorned on the lower part with towers and pinnacles—. The goddess wears a sort of surplice, *exactly like the surplice of a priest or bishop*; and upon the surplice a tunic, which falls down to the legs; and over all an *episcopal cope*, with the twelve signs of the zodiac wrought on the borders.—“This figure, *if it be indeed antique*, represents Nature—. *What gives us room to suspect is*, that we find this figure *only* in some drawings of Pirro Ligorio, an ancient Neapolitan painter,” who lived about two centuries ago †; and who says “*he copied it from an antique of Virgilio Ursini, count of Anguillara*. This is that Pirro Ligorio, whom that skilful antiquary Raphael Febretti frequently blames, in his book of Trajan’s pillar, but chiefly in his large collection of inscriptions.—“But *what increases our suspicion the more is*, we observe *nothing of this kind* in the habits of Cybele, or any other deity. Nevertheless, Bellori, a very skilful antiquary, hath published it, and without intimating any manner of doubt concerning the truth of this monument ‡.” Bellori, in my opinion, shewed the judiciousness of his mind by this manner of acting. The monument is assuredly genuine. Singularity can never prove spuriousness: if it should, there could not possibly exist in the world such a monument as an *unique*. Nor can any censure from Febretti upon Ligorio suffice to make us disbelieve the latter, when he says that “*he copied it from an antique*,” and especially when he adds, that this

* See vii. 1.

† Montfaucon Ant. Exp. iii. iii. 16.

‡ Ibid. i. i. 3.

very antique was in the possession "of Virginio Ursini, count of Anguillara." Even Montfaucon himself, however modest, however timid, who therefore pronounces the monument "very doubtful" at the head of his chapter; yet comes at the close, we see, to rest upon the opinion of Bellori, to praise Bellori's skill in such monuments, and to refer without reprehension to Bellori, for his publication of it without one expression of doubt. The grand reasons in Montfaucon's mind for doubting at all, were his full conviction, that the mitre of a bishop only a few centuries ago was different from this, a conviction which I have shewn to be all erroneous; and a persuasion equally full, which I can equally prove to be erroneous, that we observe "nothing of this kind," no *mitre* particularly, "in the habits of Cybele." The very *appellation* of *mitre* is derived from the language, as the very *use* of a *mitre* is found in the practice, of the priests or priestesses of Cybele.

—She and they were all Phrygian together, and wore what they called the *mitra* in Phrygian, as the appropriate, exclusive symbol of all; the mitre being originally a bonnet for females in Phrygia §, *therefore* worn by herself, and *so* worn by her feminine priests after her. This appears from some lines in Virgil, which Montfaucon has astonishingly overlooked. There the rough African, Iarbas, thus sneers at Æneas and his Trojans as Phrygians, as the votaries and priests of the Phrygian Cybele:

Et nunc ille Paris, cum *semiviro* comitatu,
Mæoniâ mentum *mitrâ*, crinemque madentem,
Subnexus ¶.

So expressly is the *mitre* denominated the *Mæonian*, as the instituted ensign of *Cybele*, the daughter of Mæon! So plainly did the eunuch priests of Cybele in the days of Virgil at least, and for such a time before

§ Ovid:

..... Pictâ redimitus tempora *mitrâ* .
Assimilavit anum.

Pliny, xxxv. 9: "Polyenotus Thasius—primus mulieres lucidâ veste pinxit, capita earum "*mitris* versicoloribus operuit," &c.

¶ Æneid. iv. 215-217.

as could authorize even a poet to place the fact cotemporary with the Trojan war, move in their ministries to their goddess; with mitres placed upon their heads, but tied under their chins, exactly like the mitres of our bishops! Virgil has even applied the sarcasm a second time, and made Turnus like Iarbas to insult over the Trojans in a strain of allusion to the Phrygian priests of Cybele:

*Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis ;
Desidiæ cordi ; juvat indulgere choreis,
Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula MITRÆ.
O verè Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi assuetis biformem dat tibia cantum ;
Tympana, vox, luxusque vocat Berecynthia matris
Idææ ¶.*

The Trojans thus appear a second time insulted as Phrygians, as therefore the worshippers of the Phrygian goddess, as consequently having priests emasculated, effeminate, clad in tunics half purple, half saffron in colour, with long sleeves to them, crowned with MITRES that had long strings, and dancing on the mountains of Phrygia, Dindymus, Berecynthus, or Ida, to the united sounds of their own voices, of their double flutes, and of their drums.

Such was evidently the origin of the mitre, Phrygian in its very name, sacerdotal in its very rise nearly, but, together with the surplice and the cope, even divine at last in its application! The mitre afterwards passed with the cope and surplice, as habits august in themselves and consecrated to Deity, into the service of a priesthood formed with views of a much more dignified nature, acting for purposes truly sublime and sacred, fixing indeed (as every priesthood must fix) its feet upon earth, but rearing its head to heaven. Nor can any objection be made in morality to this translation of the ornaments*; except from that fatuity of fanaticism, which considers every object once applied to wrong purposes as thoroughly vitiated in its substance; which once turned Christmas-day,

¶ *Æneid. ix. 614-621.*

* Montfaucon, i. part 1st, i. 3: "Pirro Ligorio pretends, the Christian bishops borrowed their habits from them."

as a day of feasting occasionally absurd, into a blasphemous kind of fast; which therefore could not suffer either priests, or sacraments or devotions, any religion, any government, even any action or dress at all, to be *continued* among mankind; which must, indeed, have consigned the earth to flames and man to perdition, at the very first introduction of sin into the world. And as we find the priests of Cybele remaining beyond the establishment of Christianity in the empire; so we see St. Austin describing them at the end of the fourth century, nearly as Virgil describes them before the commencement of the first; *without* the *mitre* indeed, as now, perhaps, with the cope and the surplice of the statue translated already to the true religion, *without* also those long-sleeved tunics of saffron and purple colour, of which the statue wears one between the cope above and the surplice below; yet as “*effeminate* fellows, consecrated “to the great mother *contrary to all decency*, either in *men* or *women*,” being still the “*semiviri*” of Virgil, “who went up and down Carthage,” such was the tolerating spirit of Christianity towards them! with dances, songs, pipes, and drums assuredly, as in former times, certainly “with *perfumed hair*,” the very “*crines madentes*” of Virgil, “with *faces painted white*,” as women tricked out for a theatrical show, “and “with an *effeminate mien*,” like the eunuchs employed in the choral services of Italian cathedrals at present; “obliging the people to support this infamous life with their bounty,” every month*.

Yet let us seek an origin for mitres, at once more honourable and more ancient than this. “The kings of the Orientals,” says Philo, “have been “in the habit of using a *kidaris*,” or mitre, “for a diadem†.” By “the kings of the Orientals,” Philo means the sovereigns of Persia, who actually used a mitre for a crown, actually called it a *kidaris*, and actually used it more in the shape of the present mitre than of the Phrygian: the latter was nearly, what Montfaucon falsely says the former was a few centuries ago, “only a bonnet or cap with a sharp point;” being only a round cap, rising to a short blunt peak at the crown, and there dropping a

* Montfaucon, i. part 1st, i. 2.

† De Vita Mosis, iii. 671: Κιδάρις γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖς ἀντὶ διαδημαῖος ἐκείνης χρῆσθαι.

little forwards †. But the Persian was like the present mitre, rising up stiffly without any drop, and spiring into a sharp point §. This form of a mitre, however, was appropriated to the kings; the subjects being confined to mitres that bent down to their foreheads or their eyebrows ||. Accordingly we know the very priests to have worn mitres flat in their appearance above, and resembling turbans in their configuration ¶. And, at some distance from the ruins of Persepolis, are human figures still cut in the face of a rock; one representing a man with something like a turban on his head, another with the appearance of a present MITRE on his, but leaning his hand on the guard of a great sword *.

We have thus pushed up the current to the fountain: yet still we have not reached the original source of the mitre, as a *tiara* for the heads of our Christian prelates. This source lies concealed in a period of time much more removed from the present, with a people much more related to Christianity, and among a priesthood the immediate predecessors of the Christian. So early as the year of the Exodus, 1491 years before Christ, God condescended to prescribe the nature and shape of the vestments for his high-priest. "These are the garments," he says to Moses, "which they shall make, a breast-plate, an ephod, and a robe, and a broidered coat, a MITRE, and a girdle; and they shall make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, and his sons, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office.—Thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it like the engravings of a signet, *Holiness to the Lord*;—thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the MITRE; upon the fore-front of the MITRE it shall be;—thou shalt make the MITRE of fine linen, and—shalt put the MITRE on his head, and put the holy crown," the plate of pure gold, "upon the MITRE†." Nor was this denominated a mitre in our translation, merely from that accidental association of ideas which had prevailed from the use of mitres among our bishops, for some ages antecedent to the translation. It is so denomi-

† See the bonnet sculptured on a Roman stone, in Horsley's Cheshire, No. v.

§ Ant. Univ. Hist. v. 121.

|| Ibid. ibid.

¶ Ibid. plates 31, 32.

* Ibid. 118.

† Exodus, xxviii. 4, 36, 39, xxix. 6. So Leviticus, viii. 9: "The golden plate, the holy crown."

nated expressly by Plutarch ¶; while the Hebrew appellation is *mist-nepheth*, referring only to the roll of linen, sixteen cubits in length, that was *wrapped round and round* into this *tiara* *. But the mitre of Moses here is plainly one for Aaron and for his sons, for the high-priest equally with the other priests. Yet the high-priest's "mitre" is distinguished by a different name, from the "bonnet" of the common priest †; and was therefore different, either in form or in fabric. In fabric it is different, being made of a linen finer in its texture, and peculiar in its title, *Shesh* being supposed to be a fine sort from Egypt; while the linen of the bonnet is of a more common kind, and therefore denominated *Bad* ‡. But how was it different in form? Against a host of opponents, I maintain, that the difference was really what the very appellations of mitre and bonnet suggest it to have been. The latter, says Josephus, is "not conical §." But the former, he subjoins, "has over the latter another sewed, fabricated of purple in stripes; a crown of gold runs round it, with letters engraved upon it in three rows; and AT THE TOP OF THE WHOLE is displayed A CUP OF GOLD, similar to that in the henbane plant;" which, as he additionally subjoins, "has a cup as big as a joint of the little finger, but carrying with it the circumference of a bowl ||." This therefore was plainly in the form of a Persian *kidaris*, or a present mitre. And Philo unites with Josephus, to call it expressly a *kidaris*. "The high-priest puts upon his head," says the former, without hesitation, without qualification, "a *kidaris* for a diadem; so asserting himself as one consecrated to God, whenever he officiates in his character of high-priest, to be superior to all, not merely private persons, but even kings themselves **." And when "Alexander" the Great "saw
"yet

¶ Ο ιερεὺς μίτροφορος.

* Ainsworth on the place.

† Exodus, xxviii. 40: "For Aaron's sons—*bonnets* shalt thou make—, for glory and for beauty."

‡ Ant. Univ. Hist. v. 75.

§ Ant. iii. 3. Πίλον ακωνον.

|| Ibid. 7. Ὑπερ αὐτον δε συνερραμενος εἶρος, ἐξ υακινθα πεποικιλμενος. περιερχεται δε σιφανος χρυσιος, ἐπὶ τριστοιχίαν κεχαλκευμενος· θαλλει δ' ἐπ' αὐτω καλυξ χρυσιος τῇ σακκαρω βολανη απομεμιμνητος.—ο δε καλυξ μεγεθους ἐστὶ σκυλαιδος τῆ μικρῆ δακτύλου, κρατῆρι δ' ἐμφερῆς τὴν περιγραφην.

** De Vita Mosis, iii. 673: Κιδάριν δε ἀντὶ διαδηματός ἐπέθηκεν τῇ κεφαλῇ, δικαιῶν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ θεῷ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἱερᾶται, προφέρειν ἀπαντῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἰδιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέων. The Vulgate accordingly, though

“ yet at a distance the multitude ” of citizens “ in *white vestments*,” the *surplices* still worn by the laical as well as clerical retainers of our greater churches, “ and the priests preceding them in their *lawn* dresses,” dresses still continued partially by our bishops in their lawn sleeves, “ and the “ high-priest ” preceding all “ in his *purple* robe bedropt with gold,” a colour equally worn by our bishops in their purple coats, “ having a “ *kidaris* on his head, and a ductile plate of gold upon the *kidaris*; on “ which latter was written the name of God,” as we read in Josephus’s history, and thus catch the high-priest, the priests, with the multitude of others, probably Levites, all marching in a picturesque procession from Jerusalem, to supplicate Alexander for the city which he was bent to sack; “ Alexander advanced alone, worshipped the name, and prevented “ the high-priest’s salutation by his own*.” So much in this accidental review of the Jewish clergy do we see concerning the Christian, and so frequently do we recognise the dresses of *these* in the habits of *those*! The high-priest then among the Jews, and after him the high-priest assuredly among the Persians, distinguished themselves from the common priests among both, by raising the turbans of the latter into mitres for themselves; so opened a readier road for mitres to the heads of the kings of Persia, because the Jewish originally was king as well as high-priest; and again transferred mitres from their own heads to those of *our* high-priests, their natural imitators as their legitimate successors in the royalty of religion †.

So originated, the mitre is found very early in the East and in the West: appearing on the heads of those who succeeded St. James in the episcopate of *Jerusalem*; appearing equally on the head of St. Peter, in an ancient figure more than a thousand years old, over the gate of the monas-

though in xxviii. 37, it was “ *tiaram*,” and in xxix. 6, even “ *mitras*,” yet actually uses “ *cidarim*” in xxviii. 4.

* Ant. xi. viii. 5. Ο γαρ Αλεξανδρος, εις πορευθεν ιδων το μεν πληθος εν ταις λευκαις εσθησι, τας δε ιερεις προεισιulas εν ταις βυσσιναις αυλων, τον δε αρχιερεα εν τη υακινθινη και διαχρυσω σπολη, και επι της κεφαλης εχοντα την κιδαριν, και χρυσων επ’ αυτης ελασμα, ο το τε Θεον εγγραπτο ονομα προσελθων μονος, προσεκυνησε το ονομα, και τον αρχιερεα πρωτος ησπασατο.

† How falsely then do all the delineations, all the descriptions of the high-priest’s dress, represent both it and him!

tery

tery of Corbie near Amiens in France; and appearing also in the ancient portraits of the bishops or popes of Rome †. It is also mentioned expressly as a mitre, by Theodulphe, a poetical bishop of Orleans, who died about the year 821, and of whose works Father Sirmond gave an edition in 1646; the bishop speaking thus of another bishop in one of his poems,

A shining *mitre* therefore grac'd his head ‡.

I now leave these facts, to produce their full conviction upon the mind of my reader; and pass on to another, concerning the kindred assignment of *THRONES* to bishops. One fact speaks more loudly to the understanding than all the reasonings in the world.—At the first reconstruction of the ruined churches of our religion, and in the description which is given us by Eusebius, of one of these built at Tyre under the authority of Constantine, about the year 315; we see, “when the builder
“ had finished the temple, and decorated it with *thrones* very lofty in
“ honour of *those who were to preside in divine offices*, and with stools
“ ranged in a becoming order along the whole church; additionally to
“ all, he placed the holy of holies, the *altar*, in the *middle*, and then
“ secured from the access of the multitude all this part of the church,” which was denominated the ascent from the step or steps leading up to it, “with a net-work of wood,” those wooden *cancelli*, which gave this part in the west of Europe the still-preserved name of chancel §. This

† Encyclopedie Methodique: “Le Pere Martenne, dans son *Traité des anciens Rites de l'Eglise*, dit qu'il est constant, que la mitre a été de l'usage des évêques de Jerusalem, successeurs de S. Jaques: on le voit par une lettre de Theodose, patriarche de Jerusalem, a S. Ignace, patriarche de Constantinople, qui fut produite dans le huitieme concile général. Il est encore certain, ajoute le même auteur, que l'usage des mitres a eu lieu dans les eglises d'occident, long-temps avant l'an 1000; il est aisé de le prouver par une ancienne figure de S. Pierre, qui est au-devant de la porte du monastere de Corbie, et qui a plus de mille ans, et par les anciens portraits des papes, qui les Bollandistes ont rapportés.”

‡ Ibid. ibid.: “Theodulphe, évêque d'Orleans, fait aussi mention de la mitre dans une de ses poésies; où il dit, en parlant d'un évêque,

“*Illius ergo caput resplendens mitra tegebat.*”

§ Eusebius Hist. x. iv. vol. i. p. 474: Τον νεων επιλεσας, θρονους τε τοις ανωτατω εις την των προεδρων τιμην, και προσετι βαθρους εν ταξει τοις καθ' ολα καλα το πρεπον, κοσμησας· εφ' απασι τε των αγιων αγιον, θυσιαστηριον, εν μεσση θεις, αυθις και ταδε, ως αν ειη τοις πολλοις ασφα, τοις απο ξυλε περιφραττε διχλυοις. See also the plan, 472.

church

church in general corresponds exactly with our own at St. German's. The chancel here rises by a step from the nave; the throne, the stall are within it, *this* upon one side of the altar, *that* beyond it; and the mark of the partitioning *cancelli* still remains in a tall seam upon the plastering of the southern wall.

Accordingly, in that Roman church at Canterbury, which under the Saxons became the metropolitan church of England, and continued so till it was rebuilt by the Normans in the twelfth century; we find "a pontifical chair," not made of wood, like the episcopal throne there*, but "constructed in decent workmanship," says Eadmer, "of great stones and cement †." This comes very near to our own at St. German's, in the substance and fashion of it; but was not, like ours, coeval with the structure, being only formed by the Saxons, when they made the church a metropolitan. So necessary, indeed, did the Saxons, from the Christians of the isle and of the continent, consider a throne in the cathedral to an episcopate over the diocese, that, when the Confessor settled the episcopate of Devonshire, &c. in St. Peter's church at Exeter, he did so by his and his queen's placing the bishop formally in that episcopal chair, which remains within the church to the present day ‡. Even the very appellation of a bishop's SEE for the scene of his residence, is derived solely from this *sedes* or seat of the bishop in the cathedral §; and from that omission of the intermediate letter in pronunciation, which was probably common to the Romans, which was certainly common to the Britons and

* Somner's Canterbury, i. 93: "Above these stalls, on the south side of the quire, stands the archbishop's wooden seat or chair, sometime richly gilt and otherwise well set forth, but now nothing specious through age and neglect. It is a close seat, made after the old fashion of such stalls, called thence Faldistoria: only in this they differ, that *they* were made moveable; this is fixed." On the coming of a new archbishop to take possession, the archdeacon inducts him into and seats him in "the episcopal throne and chair, and thereby puts him into the real and actual possession of all the rights and jurisdictions of his bishopric, as being diocesan of the see of Canterbury." (ii. 86.)

† Twisden, c. 1292: "Cathedram pontificalem decenti opere ex magnis lapidibus et cemento constructam."

‡ See ii. 1, before.

§ Gale, i. 58, Eddius: "Sedes episcopalis;" 59, "Sedem episcopi."

the Saxons ||. Accordingly in the Saxon Chronicle, that sure register of the language of England in the times of the Saxons, we meet with many notices to this effect. In 984, Godwin, the new bishop of Winchester, is upon the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude "seated on the *bishop-stol*" there, the stool or throne of the bishop in that cathedral, as in 791 we have *king-stole* for a royal throne. When Paulinus returned out of Yorkshire into Kent in 633, the two prelates there received him with honour, and gave him "the *bishop-settle* in Rochester." Paulinus had received from king Edwin of Northumbria, in 626 before, "the *bishop-settle*" at York. Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 604, gives to Justus "the *bishop-settle*" in Rochester, and to Mellitus "the *bishop-settle*" in London. Sideman, bishop of Devonshire, dies in 977, and desires to be buried at Crediton, "his *bishop-stol*;" and in 1086, we are told of Odo, that "at Bayeux was his *bishop-stol*."

But let me note one point more, concerning these seats of episcopal royalty. The "pontifical chair" of Canterbury was placed in the time of Eadmer, the only mentioner of it, at the very west end of the cathedral. "The end of the church," built by the Romans, he says, at the close of his movements from the east, "was graced with an oratory of Mary, the blessed mother of God;—upon one side of which was an altar, consecrated in reverence of our Lady herself;—when the priest performed divine offices at this altar, he had his face to the east, and behind to the west the pontifical chair, *this far removed from the Lord's table, as wholly contiguous to that wall of the church which went round the whole temple* *." This seems a strange position for the throne, and utterly incompatible with all our previous ideas of it. But there was a singular reason for the last. The "pontifical chair," which

|| Hist. of Manchester, ii. 239, octavo.

* Twisden, c. 1292: "Finis ecclesiæ ornabatur oratorio beatæ Matris Dei Mariæ—; in cuius parte orientali erat altare, in veneratione ipsius Dominiæ consecratum—; ad hoc altare cum sacerdos ageret divina misteria, faciem ad orientem versam habebat, post se verò, ad occidentem, cathedram pontificalem, et hanc longè à dominicâ mensâ remotam, utpote parieti ecclesiæ qui totius templi complexio erat omnino contiguam." See also a long note concerning the general purport of this passage, in vi. 2, hereafter.

could have been fabricated only when Canterbury cathedral became metropolitan, had in Eadmer's time been superseded by a "patriarchal chair," a throne of the same nature under a different designation, placed exactly as we should expect it to be placed, while the other was banished to a chapel at the opposite extremity of the church. And, while the pontifical was destroyed when the cathedral was rebuilt by the Normans*; the patriarchal remains to this moment. "There was a wall of marble plates," says Gervase, a cotemporary with the erection of the new church, "which went round the quire and the—high altar dedicated in the name of Jesus Christ—; upon this wall, in the rounding of it, was BEHIND THE ALTAR, and OPPOSITE TO IT, the chair of the patriarchate framed out of *one* stone; in which, by the custom of the church, *the archbishop used to sit* on principal festivals at the solemnity of mass, even till the consecration of the sacrament; and then they descended by eight steps to the altar of Christ †." By an ascent of eight steps towards the east," adds Battely, "behind the altar, we come to the archiepiscopal throne, which Gervase calls the patriarchal chair; it was made of *one* stone: in this chair the archbishop—was wont to sit,—until the consecration of the host; then he came down to the altar, and performed the solemnity of consecration ‡." All this Mr. Battely states him to have done, from the evidence of Gervase, without once reflecting, that nothing of this is possible to be done in the *new* position of the chair; without considering for a moment, that the chair *now* stands *behind* the *screen* of the altar, and *then* stood *upon* the wall of the screen, in the rounding of it, just behind the altar itself. "The choir is separated from the side-isles," adds Mr. Gostling, "by a wall—of stone, *not* marble, as Gervase represents it, —solid to about eight feet high, above which *was* the patriarchal

* Somner, ii. 8, and plan.

† Twisden, c. 1294: "Murus erat tabulis marmoreis compositus,—chorum cingens et altare magnum in nomine Jesu Christi dedicatum—; supra—murum in circinatione illâ, retro altare et ex opposito ejus, cathedra erat patriarchatus, ex uno lapide facta; in quâ sedere solebant archiepiscopi, de more ecclesiæ, in festis præcipuis inter missarum solennia, usque ad sacramenti consecrationem; tunc enim ad altare Christi per gradus octo descendebant."

‡ Somner, ii. 11.

“ chair, ascendible by *as many* steps, and” now “ *is* a range of open
 “ Gothic work for about six feet more, finishing at the top with a
 “ battlement.—The patriarchal or metropolitical chair is of grey marble
 “ in *three* pieces, carved in pannels; the seat is solid from the pave-
 “ ment.—The place where this chair” now “ stands, is *between* the
 “ altar and the chapel of the Holy Trinity. — In this the arch-
 “ bishop (or his proxy) is placed with much ceremony*,” in that
 form of induction into all his rights as archbishop over the pro-
 vince†, which carried a great propriety with it, *when* the chair
 was thus raised conspicuously upon the wall immediately behind the
 altar, but appears truly burlesque at present, *when* the chair is removed
 out of the quire entirely, placed behind the very screen of the altar,
 even thrust into a void place between the altar and a chapel. Thus,
 however, we have an altar and a throne at Canterbury, agreeing very ex-
 traordinarily with our own St. German’s. Our throne indeed is
 wrought and worked into the church wall, while that was merely move-
 able in itself, and merely placed upon the top of the altar-wall. Yet
 that was placed, like ours, immediately beyond the altar, and as-
 cendible by several steps from it; by as many steps in number as it was
 feet in height, eight in all, and so shewing ours, which is nearly seven
 feet in height, to have had, probably, seven steps to it. There the pre-
 late of Cornwall continued, assuredly, like the archbishop of the pro-
 vince, during the whole of the eucharistic service to the consecration
 of the elements; and then descended by the steps to the altar itself,
 followed by the chaplain from his stall near the southern end of the
 altar. The throne therefore stood “ behind the altar, and opposite to
 “ it;” the altar-rails receding equally from the stall and the throne, to
 leave an interval of ground behind them‡. In

* Gostling, p. 246, 279, 280, 281, 279. See plate also, 279.

† Somner, ii. 86.

‡ “ In the cathedral of St. John at Lyons,—the episcopal throne is raised on four steps
 “ at the end of the *absis*,” behind the altar. “ In the cathedral of St. Maurice at Vienne,
 “ the archbishop is thus seated.—The cathedral at Rheims affords another example.—It
 “ is thus at Laon, Soissons, &c. and seems nearly the general custom.—Such is the situation
 “ of the archbishop of Cambray, when pontifically officiating; as may be seen from the
 “ placing his chair, always fixed in the sanctuary, on the epistle side, having—its *back* to the
 “ east.

In the first churches of our religion after its adoption by the empire, the upper end of the chancel commonly terminated in an *apsis*, *absis*, or semicircle beyond the altar; and the throne of the bishop was placed within it, with the seats of its presbyters *a little lower* at his side. In the church built at Tyre about the year 315, as we have seen before, were “thrones very lofty in honour of those who were to preside in “divine offices,” that is, of the bishop and his presbyters. Hence Nazianzen, speaking of the presbyters as “the rulers of the people,” and “the venerable senate” of the church, calls their seats “*the second* “thrones,” as thrones lower in their position than the high throne of the bishop †. Hence also the same bishop speaks of himself as “sitting “upon *the throne above*,” and of his presbyters as “seated *below him*,” “at his side §.” From this position of the seats and of the throne, we see the altar could not be close to the eastern wall, but stood at a little distance from it, to leave room for the throne and seats behind it. The altar was thus insulated in the ancient church, and Synesius accordingly says, on his flying to sanctuary he would take shelter in the church, “and “encircle the altar*.” This account of the primitive churches in the East, quadrates so exactly with our own at St. German’s, that I need not point out the resemblance. They differ from ours in one point only, they ending in a semicircle behind the altar, and ours in a right line. The semicircle, however, was so much adopted even in Britain, that,

“east. In the famous cathedral at Rouen, which has flourished from the *fourth* age, are “also the remains of the throne, occupying its so frequently instanced situation.—Thus, “also, is situated the patriarchal throne at Rome—. Formerly, in the cathedral at Norwich, “the bishop’s chair was placed between the easternmost pillars of the presbytery,—and “immediately behind the high altar; it was ascended by three steps, and raised so high, that, “before the erection of the rood-loft, the bishop could see directly in a line through the whole “church.” Arch. xi. 322-324.

† Naz. Carm. Iambic. 23: Πρωτον μεν οι ια δευτεροι θρονων λελογχοις, λαα προεδροι πρεσβυται, Γημνη γεγεσια. Bingham, iii. 185.

§ Nazian. Somn. Anastas. tom. ii. p. 78: Εξισθαι υπερθρονος—οι δε μοι αμφοτερωθεν υφεδριων το γεραισις τοιμνης ηγεμονες. Ibid. 186.

* Synes. Catastasis, p. 303: Κυκλωσομαι το θυσιαστηριον. So at Exeter cathedral, as late as Leland, “bishop Stapleton made—the riche fronte of stone worke *at the high altare*—, and “also made the riche silver table in *the midle* of it.” (Itin. iii. 66.)

perhaps, the British church at Canterbury, certainly Lanfranc's re-edification of it, was turned semicircular at the eastern end †; that the old conventual church of Ely, founded in 673, was equally so turned; and that a reconstruction of this part, made about 1102, was so turned likewise ‡. The adoption was even carried so far in one solitary instance, that the *western* end of a church at Abingdon was made equally semicircular with the eastern §. This mode of terminating what is always the upper end of such a building, as the entrance was always (like ours) from the west, and what is actually the most dignified part, the *kebla*, of the whole; was dictated by the finest feelings of taste. A semicircle seems to retire from the eye, to deny it rest, and to go on in an interminable line, like a piece of water artfully disposed so as to be seen sweeping round a point, then vanishing from view, and promising a length of course beyond, while a flat line stops the eye at once, leaves no scope for fancy, but presents the whole in a single glance, like the piece of water ending at a high bank within view. Yet, though the principle was felt, and the practice adopted in Britain, it was not adopted generally. The present cathedral of Ely, the present cathedral of Canterbury, and almost all our cathedrals, I believe, end in this abrupt manner on the east: even so ends our own cathedral of St. German's. This effect was produced in the other cathedrals, by an humour which appears to have been very prevalent, that of prolonging the church into a chapel to the east of the altar, while, in our own, it was the very result of the original plan itself, the wall being raised from the first as flat as it now is, for the still-remaining throne of the bishop in the niche within it.

We thus behold a throne and a mitre, two accompaniments of the Saxon and of the British prelacy; derived to the Britons, derived to the Saxons, together with their religion, from the usages on the continent*.

† Gostling, 226.

‡ Bentham, 29.

§ Monasticon, i. 98: "Habebat in longitudine, c. et xx. pedes, et erat rotundum, tam in parte occidentali quàm in parte orientali."

* At Temple Bruern, in Lincolnshire, says Leland, at Itin. i. 30, "there be great and
"vaste

SECTION III.

WHEN the prior and his society lived in their college adjoining, they repaired in formal procession to the church on Sundays and holydays, I suppose,

“vaste buildinges, but rude,—and *the este ende of the temple is made opere circulari de more* ;” not “Templariorum,” as the churches of the Templars are *whole rounds* in themselves, like that cathedral of theirs in England, the old Temple church in London, and therefore cannot turn either circularly or semicircularly at the *eastern* or at the *western* end, cannot, indeed, have any end at all; but “antiquorum,” I conjecture, as we have seen the fact to be above. “One of the old churches” at Northampton, “St. Sepulchre’s,” cries Dr. Stukeley, “seems to have belonged to the knights hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem [the knights templars], *of a circular form*; there has been another tackt to it, of later date, with a quire and steeple, as to that at Cambridge of the same name and figure, so a new church has been added to the old, at the Temple, in London. Another such, I am told, is at Guildford, which are all of this sort that I know of in Englands.” (Itin. Cur. i. 3.) He forgets the main church, the old Temple church in Fleet Street, and the still older in Holborn; the former still existing, the latter once existing “*round in forme*, as the new Temple by Temple Barre, and *the other Temples in England*.” (Stowe, 486, 487.) “I suspect,” adds Stukeley, “these are the most ancient churches in England, and probably built in the later times of the Romans for Christian service, at least in the early Saxon times.” (Ibid.) How rashly adventurous! They cannot be older than the Templars themselves, who began only about A. D. 1118. That church, “at London, was their chiefe house, which they builded *after the forme of the temple neere to*,” after the form of the dome over, “*the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem*. They had also their temples in Cambridge, Bristow, Canterbury, Dover, Warwicke.” (Stowe, *ibid.*) That dome stands upon pillars, which compose about three fourths of a circle; while the Temple itself is an oblong, ending *semicircularly* on the *east*. Nor let us lull ourselves into a *dream*, of supposing this church not to be the same that Helena built; as an author has done in Arch. vi. 168. There, in an essay on the origin and antiquity of round churches, Mr. Essex, the architect, argues the present church not to be the same; *because* Bede describes it as a “*round church*, which differs very much from the present building.” Bede only describes it as Stowe has just described it, and as all ages have combined to describe, while they imitated it, from the prominent, the principal part of the whole, the dome. Even Mr. Essex himself allows the justness of this remark in a subsequent page, however contradictory the allowance is to his argument here. “The church of St. Sophia in Constantinople,” he says in p. 170, “was first built by Constantine; which, *being covered with an hemispherical dome*, is by Bede called a round church.” So decisively is Mr. Essex’s argument refuted at once, by that

very

I suppose, and entered it, of course, by the only access immediate into the priory part of the church, the folding-doors of the portal on the west. Yet they moved not to it under any range of cloisters from the college, as Mr. Willis conjectures they did†, and as all appearances deny; there being no mark upon the wall of the church to shew the union of a cloister with it, and no traces of a foundation appearing in the ground below, on removing the great swelling of earth at the base of the portal. The prior and society then walked up the nave; he took his seat in a stall of the chancel; the clergy took theirs immediately adjoining the chancel; and the clerks, the servants, those more distant from it. As a rule for our ideas upon this point, let us just glance at the church of St. John in Beverley; which John, archbishop of York, in the *eighth* century, enlarged (as Athelstan enlarged St. German's church), for the monastery that he adjoined, by annexing a choir to the church; then assigned the rector, now made prior, *a place in his new choir*, and provided for the *seven presbyters and as many clerks*, whom he associated with him in this monastery, and a nunnery adjoining that place in the *nave*, which the rector used to occupy before‡. But when the priory was dissolved very force of truth which yet was too weak to preclude it! But upon this surmise, so rashly taken up, and so unconsciously abandoned, Mr. Essex, in p. 169, argues another church built by Helena on mount Olivet, to have been destroyed since Bede's description of it; as Bede calls it round, when it is octangular. Mr. Essex thus raises an evil spirit of scepticism, to haunt the world of antiquarianism. But he is kind enough in act, though not in intention, to lay the spirit again, as he laid it before. Bede's round church of St. Sophia, he says himself, p. 170, "is not of that form *within*," and therefore is *without*. And Bede's round church on mount Olivet, he equally owns, "is octangular on the *outside*, but is" actually "circular *within*." So happily does our Mercury grasp his magic wand, and exert his magic power, here!

Tum virgam capit; hæc animus ille evocat Orco

Pallentes, alius sub tristia tartara mittit;

Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.

† Willis, 150.

‡ Leland's Coll. iv. 99, 100: "Ex libro incerti autoris de Vita Joannis Archiepiscopi Ebor. — "Joannes reperit in Beverlic. eccl. parochialem, S. Johanni Evangel. sacram,—ecclesiam auctam in monasterium convertit, et monachis assignavit.—Chorum eccl. de novo ibi construxit, habente priori eccles. S. Joann. locum in navi eccl.'" He then built near it what he afterwards turned into a nunnery. "Associavit monasteriis istis septem presbyteros, et totidem clericos, in navi eccl. S. Joannis'."

at

at the Reformation, and all the old institution of things was changed, an invasion was soon made, I believe, without authority from the king, without concurrence from the Champernowns, and merely in the innovating spirit of the times, upon the collegiate parts of the church; the laical gentlemen, who had sitten with their families for ages in the south aisle, boldly transferring their seats into the nave. This was certainly not done, when Leland visited the church about 1541, and called it "a priori [church] of blake chanons, and a *paroche chirche* yn the "body of the same." But all was done, I conjecture, before Mr. Eliot came to the convent several years afterward; though the chancel was still left to the new prior, his wife, and his children, a society and a principal very different from the clerical before: for, in consequence of the chancel's falling down about two years afterward, and in spite of all reparations, soon sinking into final ruin, the very family of the Eliots possesses not, what all the other families of gentry in the parish possess, an appropriated seat in the nave, and has been obliged to form itself one in a side-chapel. When Mr. Eliot came to reside, therefore, he saw the encroachment, and overlooked it. Time had lent some sanction to it; and, as a "novus homo" in the priory or the church, he could not exert himself to repel it. In such a situation as his, with such ideas concerning it as were then prevalent all over the country, the strongest mind would repose in a modesty of spirit; and an incidental injury offered to himself would be tolerated, from a consciousness of the general injustice done to the clergy. In this strain of modesty, too, he would naturally avoid the proper parade of the college, and walk to his prior's stall in the chancel; not by the grand door of the portal, which, from the Reformation to the present moment, appears to have been seldom entered, except for burials; but by a door which I have already noticed, as one of the two communicating with the side-chapels from without, as, indeed, the very door used by his descendants for their entrance into the church, within these few years. Then a tall, square doorway was cut through the wall of partition betwixt the side-chapel and the nave, which still appears, though slightly filled up again, and stands almost directly opposite to that door of entrance. The wall of partition here was made peculiarly thick, as I have observed before, for admission

admission of a door through it, and of stairs at the back of it, up to the organ-loft; and the tall doorway, therefore, is two feet seven inches in depth. But the improvidence of cutting it so very tall, no less than nine feet two inches in height, with the view of making the entrance (I suppose) as conspicuous as it was convenient for the laical prior; even under the precaution of cutting it most disproportionally narrow, only two feet four inches in width, made the rest of the wall on the east, I apprehend, soon begin to fail: an elliptical arch has been there formed, springing from the sides of the capitals of two pillars, very different from all the others, much massier, and much shorter. *This* being formed, a much better entrance was *now* made for the Port-Eliot family into the nave; which continues to be their entrance at present, when their chancel is all levelled with the ground, when their pew is about the middle of this aisle, and when they now enter the aisle to their pew at the door inscribed *R. S.* The tall, square opening, cut through the thickness of the wall before, thus became useless, and was closed up as it still continues with a coat of mortar, upon the aisle side. But as this coat is only four inches thick, and the wall is two feet seven, in the recess on the nave side are lodged some remains of the chancel that I now come to notice.

These are between fifty and sixty squares of a tessellated pavement, which are laid by the care of lord Eliot, as a flooring for this recess in order to their preservation. They were found about the same number of feet to the east of the present altar, to which the chancel is known to have extended. They were in all probability, therefore, the flooring of the ground close to the old altar there. They are each about *five* inches square, with a ground chiefly red, but presenting colours white and yellow to the eye; stamped also with flowers or figures of various shapes, yet carrying no particular reference with them. Just such, or nearly such, we find in the great guard-chamber and the barons' hall, within the palace of William the Conqueror at Caen in Normandy. "Round
"the whole of the room," says Dr. Ducarrel concerning the former,
"runs a stone bench, intended for the convenience of the several persons
"doing duty therein. The floor is PAVED WITH TILES, each near FIVE
"inches square— Eight rows of these tiles, running from east to west,
"are

“ are charged with DIFFERENT COATS OF ARMS, generally said to be those
 “ of the families, who [which] ATTENDED DUKE WILLIAM IN HIS IN-
 “ VASION OF ENGLAND. The intervals between each of these rows are
 “ filled up with *a kind of tessellated pavement*; the middle whereof re-
 “ presents a maze or labyrinth, about ten feet in diameter, and so artfully
 “ contrived, that, were we to suppose a man following all the intricate
 “ meanders of its volutes, he could not travel less than a mile before he
 “ got from the one end to the other. The remainder of this floor is
 “ inlaid with SMALL SQUARES OF DIFFERENT COLOURS, placed ALTER-
 “ NATELY, and FORMED INTO DRAUGHT OR CHESS BOARDS, for the amuse-
 “ ment of the soldiery while on guard *.”

Nor let my reader start aside into a disbelief of the whole, as cotemporary with William the Conqueror, on perusing this last declaration; and point at the existence of a chess-board upon the tiles, as a sure proof of their being later than William. The honourable Daines Barrington indeed, in a set treatise upon the origin of chess, has laboured to prove it introduced into the West from Constantinople, at a period of time much later than the Conquest. “ It is *possible*,” he remarks, “ that chess *might* be known in England, in the *next* century after the *first* crusade had *taken place*,” which began in the outset of the crusaders under the month of March 1096 †, and ended some years after the commencement of the twelfth century, or (as Mr. Barrington evidently means) in the twelfth century itself; “ but, as I would *rather* suppose, during the *thirteenth* century, upon the *return* of *Edward the First* from the *Holy Land*, where he continued so long, and was attended by so many English ‡;” Edward setting off for the Holy Land in May 1269, and returning in August 1275 §. In this, however, as in all the principal points of his treatise, Mr. Barrington has been satisfactorily refuted, I think, by an author in the English Review for January and February 1792 ||. But to the arguments there adduced for the early introduction

* Ducarrel, 59.

† Malmesbury, 75.

‡ Arch. ix. 28.

§ M. Westm. 349, 363.

|| See the articles copied, with notes, in my Appendix here, No. I.

of chess into England, let me add some evidences that are all unnoticed by this writer. When Becket was made chancellor just after the coronation of Henry II. in 1154, and *more than a whole century* before Edward's expedition, "he diverted himself," says his biographer, contemporary, and secretary, "very much, but in an easy way, not with a mind set upon the work, in hawking and in hunting; and, *with stones of two different colours,*

"He play'd the battles of the ambush'd brave ¶."

This passage is sufficiently explicit of itself, in its intimation of "the battles of the ambushed brave," as exhibited in a game; and in its specification of "stones of two different colours," as the weapons with which those battles were played. But, to preclude all possibility of doubt, I subjoin an incidental passage in the very same author, concerning the very same personage; which carries in it the *appropriate* appellation of the game, retained with so much softening in the French *echec* and our *chess*, but preserved with all its original orthography in the German *scach* or *scach-spil* for the game, or *scach-tafel* for the board*. Becket, "when chancellor," says his historian, "was confined for some time with a severe illness, in the monastery of St. Gervase at Rouen; two kings came together to visit him, the king of France, and the king of England his sovereign; he having at last a tendency to health, and being upon the recovery, was one day playing at *chess* †." This demonstrates the "stones" and the "battles" before, to refer directly to chess; and the game of chess to have been so well known at the time, that descriptions, which may seem vague or unspecific to some at present, pointed it out significantly to all then. Their familiarity with the game

¶ Sparke, 14: "Ludebat plerumque, sed perfunctoriè, non deditâ operâ, in avibus cœli, et canibus venaticis; et in calculis bicoloribus

"Insidiosorum ludebat bella latronum."

The line is borrowed from Martial, xiv. 20.

* Spelman's Glossary.

† Sparke, 17: "Fuit aliquando gravi tentus infirmitate cancellarius, Rothomagi, apud Sanctum Gervasium; venerunt eum duo reges simul videre, rex Francorum et rex Anglorum dominus suus; tandem dispositus ad sanitatem, et convalescens, unâ dierum sedit ad ludum scaccorum."

enabled them to understand the description at once. Having only the game of chess among them, any general description was precise and pointed enough to indicate it. Not needing to guard against any confusion of ideas, from the congeniality of any other game to chess; their writers used only general descriptions at times. And as the occasional use of the appropriate appellation for chess, binds down for ever those general descriptions to this particular object, even in the ears of modern readers; so the very manner of those descriptions, unspecific as it may be to some, *then* proves the great familiarity of the game, to their own times, or to their immediate readers.

But in that famous treatise concerning the exchequer, which has been improperly attributed to a Gervase of Tilbury, and was certainly written by one, who was an officer of the exchequer in the early part of the reign of Henry II. †; the origin of the name of exchequer is stated to be this: “No truer reason for it occurs to me at present,” adds the writer, a contemporary with Becket and with Becket’s historian, “than that the table there carries the appearance of *the game of chess*;—for, as in the *game of chess* there are *certain ranks of combatants*, and *these proceed or stop by certain laws and at certain limits*, some presiding, and others assisting; so in this some preside, some assist, officially, and no one is at liberty to go beyond the constituted laws.—Again: as in the *game a battle is fought between the kings*, so in this there is a conflict and battle principally between two, the treasurer and the sheriff §.” Thus does the

† Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, has published this treatise, ii. 349-452, and prefixed a dissertation for ascertaining the author, his age, &c. The author was not Gervase of Tilbury, a name of nobody (342-344), but Richard Fitz-Nigell, bishop of London in the reign of Richard I. and treasurer for many years to Henry II. (344, 345.) He was even vice-treasurer occasionally, in the early part of this Henry’s reign; he himself declaring expressly he had supplied at times the place of Nigell, bishop of Ely, and treasurer in his absence; and this Nigell dying in 1169, the 15th of Henry (337). And he himself also declares, he began to write, or to think of writing, “anno xxiii. regni regis Henrici Secundi” (351).

§ Madox, 353: “Nulla mihi [ratio hujus nominis] verior ad presens occurrit, quàm quòd scaccarii lusilis similem habet formam—. Sicut enim in scaccario lusili quidam ordines sunt pugnatorum, et certis legibus vel limitibus procedunt vel subsistunt, præsi-

the author allude to the game of chess so plainly, describe it so clearly, and name it so expressly, that every thinking reader must be astonished to find any attempt made in the very face of it, for dating the origin of chess in England a whole century later. His manner shews the game to have been very familiar to him, and to all at the moment; as his application of the game to explain the title of that exchequer, which he himself refers by tradition to William the Conqueror, to the very period of the Conquest, even to a previous exchequer in Normandy, carries the whole up to an æra, two centuries prior to Mr. Barrington's, and coinciding with the date of William's palace in Normandy ||.

Yet let us not rest the point upon a mere inference, when we have a positive proof for it. Robert, who was made bishop of Hereford *five or six years only after the Conquest*, "was very well skilled in all the liberal arts," says Malmesbury; "*he particularly knew chess*" as one of the liberal arts!!! "and the computations of the moon, and the course of the celestial stars ¶." We thus rise on the basis of fact itself, nearly up to the period of Dr. Ducarrel's chess-board; and instantly tower above it. In the reign of CANUTE, who came to the crown near half a century before the Conquest, a bishop late at night (as the historian of Ramsey tells us) "found the king yet relieving the tiresomeness of a long night, with

"dentibus aliis et aliis *præcedentibus*," the context requires *assidentibus*; "sic in hōc quidam [quidam] præsidet, quidam assident, ex officio, et non est cuiquam liberum leges constitutas excedere.—Item: sicut in lusili pugna committitur inter reges, sic in hōc inter duos principaliter conflictus est et pugna committitur, thesaurarium scilicet et vicecomitem."

|| Madox, 359: "Ab ipsâ—regni conquisitione per regem Willelmum factâ cœpisse dicitur, sumptâ tamen ipsius ratione a scaccario transmarino." So the clergy, monastic and secular, *at the Conquest*, says Malmesbury, used to play at chess; "canum cursibus avocari, avium prædam raptu aliarum volucrum per inane sequi, spumantis equi tergum premere, *tesseras quater*" (f. 118, misprinted for 122). Becket's practice before fixes this to be chess, "ludebat in avibus cœli, et canibus venaticis, et in calculis bicoloribus;" the last (we shall soon see) being denominated "*tesseræ*," as here. Yet because I want not the argument in my text, I only make the observation in my notes.

¶ Savile, 163: "Omnium liberalium artium peritissimus; abacum præcipue, et lunarem compotum, et cœlestium astrorum cursum, rimatus."

"the

“ *the game of tesserae or chess* *.” So striking a proof have we under our eyes here, of the early knowledge of chess in England ; and so much more erroneous than ever is Mr. Barrington’s late introduction of it into this kingdom !

But we can proceed still higher up the current of Saxon antiquity, and even reach the lower of its two sources, for the appearance of chess upon the continent. The writer in the English Review has pointed out the higher of those sources, by shewing chess to have been originally derived to us through the Romans from the Persians, and in 1096 to have been practised by a *Saracen* general of *Persia*. But John XV. pope of Rome, and the writer of a kind of manifesto to all Christians against our Saxon sovereign *ETHELRED* under 991 ; in his youth, and therefore very many years *before*, stole away from France into Spain, “ principally intending “ to learn astrology, and other arts of the same kind, from the *Saracens*. “ —Coming to them, he gratified his wishes. He there, by his knowledge, excelled Ptolemy in the use of the astrolabe, Alcandræus in the “ intervals of the stars, Julius Firmicus concerning fate.—Arithmetic, “ music, and geometry, he so imbibed, that he shewed them to be below “ his genius ; and VERY CAREFULLY DID HE CALL WHOLLY BACK INTO “ FRANCE ARTS WHICH HAD NOW BEEN FOR SOME TIME OBSOLETE “ there. He was CERTAINLY THE FIRST WHO STOLE THE CHESS FROM THE “ SARACENS, and (in the abbey of St. Maximin near Orleans) for playing “ chess gave rules WHICH ARE SCARCELY UNDERSTOOD BY THE MOST “ PRACTISED CHESS-PLAYERS AT PRESENT †.” This is a very extraordinary

* Gale, i. 442 : “ Regem adhuc tesserarum vel scaccorum ludo longioris tædia noctis re-
“ levantem invenit.”

† Malmesbury, 36 : “ Animo præcipuè intendens, ut astrologiam, et cæteras (id genus)
“ artes, a Saracenis addisceret.—Ad hos—perveniens, desiderio satisfecit. Ibi vicit scientiâ
“ Ptolemæum in astrolabio, Alcandræum in astrorum interstitio, Julium Firmicum in fato.
“ —De arithmeticâ, musicâ, et geometriâ nihil attinet dicere, quas ita ebibit, ut inferiores
“ ingenio suo ostenderet, et magnâ industriâ revocaret in Galliam omnino, ibi jampridem ob-
“ soletas. Abacum certè primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit, quæ a sudantibus aba-
“ cistis vix intelliguntur.”—Malmesbury afterwards notes, that John published his rules for
chess in the monastery of St. Maximin near Orleans ; “ habebat comphilosophos et studi-
“ orum

nary passage indeed, and has been very extraordinarily overlooked hitherto. It shews chess to have been *very much practised* in England, *before* the author wrote, *before* the year 1128 at farthest. It shews chess also to have been so much practised in England and on the continent, before the year 991 *at least*, and very many years *before*; that a set of rules was drawn up by John for playing it, yet not a plain set as for mere novices in the game, but so deep and so comprehensive in themselves, that the most practised players in the days of Malmesbury could scarce understand them. And it finally shews, that though the Romans first introduced chess into this island, as the English Reviewer (I think) has fully proved; yet, with other arts of more consequence introduced by them, it had "for some time" grown "obsolete," or little practised in the tenth century, both within England, and within that country of France which has been the transmitter of all the arts to England. It was then revived in both countries again, by an accidental derivation of it through the vigour of one enterprising genius, from the Saracens of the East, at that time masters of Spain. Yet even this derivation attests the previous existence of it. Chess had merely "for some time" before become "obsolete." The Roman source of the current had been in a great measure, but not entirely, choked up; the current still creeping on in private and subterraneous rills, though the open stream was no longer seen to flow; and even this revolution having taken place, only "for some time" before. But now the subterraneous rills broke out again in a lower part of the ground, the private streams all united with the new one, and the current instantly rose into sufficient strength, to flow on unimpeded, unimpaired, as low as our own age. In saying this, I complete the history of chess within this kingdom; and shew decisively by an accumulation of evidences, that chess was known in this country, as well as Normandy, *long before* the construction of the Conqueror's palace at Caen there, *long therefore before* the laying of the chess-board floor in the great guard-chamber of it ‡.

But

"orum socios, Constantinum abbatem monasterii Sancti Maximini, quod est juxta Aurelianis, apud quem edidit regulas *de abaco*," &c.

‡ In Leland's Coll. iv. 97, 98, are some notices of and extracts from an ancient work, "ex libro veteri, quem mutuò sumpsi a Taleboto," that again shew the knowledge of chess

But Dr. Ducarrel also speaks of this floor, as “formed into draught or chess boards;” while Mr. Barrington says the game of draughts “is very ancient, bears a considerable affinity to chess, and equally requires a chequered board §.” Yet Mr. Barrington, as we have already seen, has such an unhappy propensity to puzzle himself, and such an unfortunate dexterity in perplexing his reader; that we have reason to suspect the dashing hand of confusion employed by him even in this slight averment. Draughts, indeed, are plainly not very ancient, and merely a modern derivative from chess. They are not noticed by any ancient

to have been familiar in the days of the Saxons. The volume was composed of two distinct works: one was, “*Carmina Abbonis Monachi, Natione Itali, Numero septuaginta, dedicata verò Domino Dunstano, Episcopo Anglo,*” dedicated abroad to Dunstan, then bishop of Worcester, as he was made in 957 (Sax. Chron.), or bishop of London, as he was also made in 958 (Hist. Rams. in Gale, i. 390), and not yet archbishop of Canterbury, as he was made in 961 (Sax. Chron.). The other work is thus mentioned: “*Ibidem. Doctissima Figura edita à Bryghtferdo, Monacho Ramesiensis Cœnobii, de Concordiâ Mensium et Elementorum. . . . Ibidem. Calendarium, in quo festi Dies per singulos Menses Carminibus notantur. Videtur (quamvis pro certo affirmare non ausim) hoc Calendarium à Bryghtferdo fuisse scriptum—*” Then comes the Calendar, followed by this remark, “post hæc, multa sequuntur de circulo paschali, et de ABACO,” a term (we see from Malmesbury in the note immediately preceding) nearly as appropriate for chess in the middle ages, as *scacchia* itself, “insuper de asse et de ejus partibus.” But, to shew the age of Bryghtferd more plainly, let me cite Leland’s other account of him in his *Commentarii de Script. Brit.* one more chronological and more peremptory than this: “Brightfertus, monachus Ramsegeranus, vel, ut quidam volunt, Thornegeranus,” he says in p. 171, placing him apparently about the reign of Edgar and the days of Dunstan, as placing him next but one after a “writer” patronized by Odo, the immediate predecessor of Dunstan in the archbishopric, “secutus religiosè suæ ætatis studia, ad *mathesin, acerrimorum ingeniorum excitationem,*” Leland thus speaking from those prejudices of his education, which are so prevalent at Cambridge now, and very remarkably appear here to have been as prevalent in the days of Leland, “animum applicavit. In quo eruditionis genere sic postea enituit, ut artem *per se claram, depictis graphicè organis, et additis commentariis tum doctissimis tum lucidissimis, clariorem redderet. Illustravit præterea scholiis, non de trivio petitis, Bedæ Girovicensis libellum De Naturâ Rerum; in quo, dum tempora supputat, facile ostendit quantum in expeditâ numerorum ratione valeret. Multa ibi de circulo paschali, de ABACO, de asse et ejus partibus. Hunc ego aliquando à candido Talboto, homine mei loci atque ordinis, librum mutuò accepi; et acceptum, veluti avidus helluo, totum profectò devoravi.*”

§ Arch. ix. 32.

writer,

writer, and have no ancient appellation common to us with other nations. The oldest mention of them that Mr. Barrington himself produces, is so late as the reign of Richard III.; when lady Morley is said to have "had no harpinges or lutinges during Christmas, but playing at *tables* and *chess* ||." By the French they are denominated *dames*, or *jeu de dames*, not, as Mr. Barrington alleges, because "the common pieces, "by reaching the top-square of the antagonist, become *queens* ¶," which forms no interpretation of the name, *dames* not signifying queens; but because the French consider the pieces moved to be *women*, and so call the crowned pieces *queens*, as we consider all to be *men*, and call these *kings*. Thus *dame*, a *woman* in French, comes to signify a *man* there, *damier* the board on which the men are moved, *dames* the game itself, and *dame-damée*, properly a woman of quality, the *man kinged* in the game. But they are denominated among ourselves, by the various appellations of *tables*, which speaks its import at once, of *draughts*, from the men drawn up in military array; both derived purely from the English language, from *modern* English too*; and of *chequers*, which is equally English, equally modern, but decisively marks the relation of draughts to chess in their origin. They are, indeed, a merely spurious kind of chess, an European, a modern simplification of the game of Asia; and such a simplification, as has reduced the elaborate, the complicated, the manly operations of one game, from the indolence, studious or yawning, of later times, into the go-cart movements of an infant's pastime in the other†.

Yet, as Dr. Ducarrel proceeds in his description of the great guard-chamber and the barons' hall at Caen, the *latter* "is paved with the same "sort of tiles as the *former*; but with this difference, that instead of

|| Arch. ix. 30.

¶ Ibid. 26.

* Ibid. 26: "I do not know, from what nation we have borrowed this term of *drafts*." Some objects press too much upon the eye to be seen.

† This indolence is strikingly attested by the popular report, that a game at chess may be transmitted as an inheritance for grandchildren to finish; though "most chess-matches "are decided in an hour, and perhaps never exceed *two*, unless the players *take a nap between the moves*." (ix. 30.)

“coats of arms,” which are generally said (as we have heard before) to be those of the families attending duke William in his invasion of England, “they are stained with the figures of stags and dogs in full chase. “The walls of this room *seem* to have been adorned,” as the floor of the other actually is, “WITH ESCUTCHEONS OF ARMS,” belonging equally (we must infer from analogy) to the families of those who attended William into England, but here “painted in heater *shields*, some of which *are still remaining*,” and therefore carry the seeming into certainty. “It was in this guard-chamber, and the barons’ hall adjoining, that king William the Conqueror, as tradition tells us, in the most sumptuous manner entertained his mother Arlette with her wedding-dinner, on the day of her marriage to Harluin count de Conteville, by whom she had Odo, bishop of Bayeux †;” who was old enough to go in William’s army to the conquest of England, who was also old enough to be a bishop then, and whose mother’s marriage to his father must therefore have been many years before, when William was no *king* and only a *duke*§. We thus see tradition concurring with remains, to mark these rooms built and these floors laid, several years before the Conquest. Nor let us be beaten off from this conviction, by an objection which Dr. Ducarrel has proposed himself, immediately after the last passage cited from him; “that THE BEARING OF ARMS, AS A FAMILY-DISTINCTION, WAS UNKNOWN DURING HIS [William’s] REIGN;—and that therefore it is more probable this pavement was laid down in the latter part of the reign of king John, while he was loitering away his life at Caen with the beauteous Isabel of Angouleme, his queen, DURING WHICH PERIOD THE CUSTOM OF WEARING OF COATS OF ARMS,” either as family or as personal distinctions, “WAS INTRODUCED ||.” This objection the author proposes *against himself*, and *never attempts to answer it*. He conjures up a ghost to haunt him, and endeavours not to lay it again: I shall therefore try to do this for him: it is a ghost of the same complexion with that before; and

† Ducarrel, 59, 60.

§ For “Odo, bishop of Bayeux,” being present at the battle of Hastings, see Dr. Ducarrel himself in p. 79.

|| Ducarrel, 60.

may be as effectually laid as that has been, though it asks a *longer* charm for the work :

..... Sunt certa piacula, quæ te
Ter purè lecto poterunt recreare libello.

The use of armorial bearings was first upon *shields*; as the pannel or compartment within which the bearings are painted, is still called a *shield* or an *escutcheon*. But it was afterwards upon *coat-armour* too; and therefore we call the bearings a *coat* of arms. In both cases, the depicted ensigns were denominated *arms*; because they were depicted upon that weapon of defence a shield, and upon that coat of defence a mail. We thus see devices upon shields, at the very invasion of England by William, and in that very tapestry of Bayeux, which is an historical work equally delineating as describing, being woven (according to the report of tradition) by the hands of William's queen and her ladies*.

In

* Ducarrel, 79, 80: "The ground of this piece of work (which is extremely valuable, as preserving the taste of those times in designs of this sort) is a white linen cloth, or canvas, one foot eleven inches in depth, and two hundred and twelve feet in length.—*There is a received tradition*, that queen *Matilda*, wife of the *Conqueror*, and the ladies of her court, *wove this tapestry with their own hands*.—In an old inventory of the goods of the cathedral of Bayeux, taken in the year 1476, this piece of *needlework*," as this *woven tapestry* is miscalled by Ducarrel, "is entered thus, 'une tente tres longue et etroite, de telle a broderie de ymages et eserpteaulx, faisans representations du conquest d'Angleterre'—." Yet to our astonishment the Doctor instantly informs us, in despite of record and of tradition, that "the priests of this cathedral, to whom I addressed myself for a sight of this remarkable piece of antiquity, *knew nothing of it*. The circumstance *only* of its being annually hung up in their church, *led them to understand what I wanted*; no person there *knowing*, that the object of my inquiry any ways related to William the Conqueror." This is plainly written in that air of superciliousness, with which we of this island have too often affected to look down upon the ignorance of the clergy in France, and from which the falsehoods predominant in conversation have too often stolen into writings to degrade them. The ignorance, here charged, is *impossible to be true as stated*. "By tradition," adds Mr. Lethieulier in a dissertation upon the tapestry, "it is called DUKE WILLIAM'S TOILET, and said to be the work of Matilda his queen, and the ladies of her court, after he obtained the crown of England." (Ducarrel's own Appendix, p. 2.) Accordingly, when "an illuminated drawing of one part" had been found "among the manuscripts of the famous Monsieur Foucaut," about seventy-four years since; and Montfaucon "wrote to every part of France," with which Foucaut had been connected, to get intelligence of the original; he

was

In this singular kind of illuminated manuscript, cotemporary with all that it records, and therefore a witness of the highest authority, having been drawn up from some narrative written for the purpose; we see Guy earl of Ponthieu seizing Harold the moment he lands on the coast, and the four men, who followed Guy on horseback to assist in the seizure, carrying shields *all charged with devices*. Of these the first appears to be a dolphin; the next is a number of small rays of the sun, issuing out of a cloud on the dexter side of the field; the third is what is called a *cross pattee*; and the fourth a dog †. So, in two pennies of silver minted at Rouen by William duke of Normandy before his conquest of England, we have a *cross pattee* in the centre of each, and one cross upon each having four half-moons within its four quarters, while another has in its quarters three and a fleur-de-lys ‡. The two messengers of William to Guy demanding the release of Harold, are also represented bearing each a dolphin on his shield, but one facing to the sinister and the other to the dexter side of the field §. And, to mark the precise fidelity with which the tapestry proceeds; to shew the justice which it means to practise, in allotting to every man concerned his actual share of the business; William delivers his message to one man of dwarfish stature immediately close to him, and to two much taller men close behind the other; the three accordingly

was *instantly informed by one of the clergy of Bayeux*, that the original was preserved in the cathedral there; that the part drawn was “about thirty feet in length, and *one foot and a half* broad,” not (as Dr. Ducarrel writes above) “one foot eleven inches;” that the rest was “two hundred and thirty-two feet long;” that the whole therefore was two hundred and *sixty-two* feet, not (as Dr. Ducarrel measures it) “two hundred and *twelve* feet, in length;” but that “the most ancient account they have of it,” the inventory of 1476, says it was “representations *de la conquest d’Angleterre*.” (Ducarrel’s Appendix, p. 1, 2.) So inaccurate, so contradictory is the Doctor here! Montfaucon, however, having thus found his way to them by the torch of tradition, and seeing them by the daylight of history, too important records to be left any longer in danger of destruction, delineated, engraved, and published them, in his “*Monumens de la Monarchie Française*.” Smart Lethieullier, esq. wrote a description of them, and Dr. Ducarrel published it in his Appendix.

† Ducarrel’s Appendix, No. 1, plate, page 4, 5. See also plate, page 25, as hereafter noticed.

‡ Ducarrel, 33 and 49.

§ Plate, page 4, 5. Here the tapestry has made a transposition of the events, the messengers delivering their message, then riding to deliver it, and then receiving it.

appear delivering the message to Guy, one speaking, another standing behind, but the third, the dwarf, holding their horses by the bridles, and having his name *Turolde* over his head *. One of the taller men, as they are all three receiving the message from William, rests upon a shield charged with an animal, that we see a little from its appearance here, and see still more from its reappearance as they are riding, to be a dolphin †. Harold is thus surrendered up to William by Guy, we see Guy surrendering him, and a person immediately behind William bears in his shield a winged dragon ‡. William carries Harold to his own palace, then sits upon his throne in form, and receives Harold's message from king Edward; Harold being attended by four men, all having shields, one with a St. Andrew's cross upon it, a second with three *bezants* crossing the field in a line above, then one upon each side of a *plate* below, and three in a triangle below all, with a third and a fourth shewing only a single *bezant* at present, upon the sinister side of each §. So of the two silver pennies mentioned before, as carrying each a *cross pattee* with half-moons and a fleur-de-lys in the quarters upon one side, each carries on the other a *cross pattee* with a *bezant* in every quarter of it ||. Then William and Harold appear marching out against Mount St. Michael, cross a river just beyond it, and are some of them unhorsed in a quicksand; when the shield of one of them is seen upon the sand, charged with a regular square, seemingly a fort with a tower at each angle ¶, two *bezants* crossing the field above, and four disposed in a kind of lozenge below **. William and Harold attack Dinant; one of the besieged stands high, and shews

* Plate, pages 4, 5, and 9. This *Turolde* is not improbably the "*Toralde* de Papilion," who is a witness to a charter from the Conqueror to the church of Durham. (Leland's Coll. ii. 385.) In the charter itself he appears signing as "*Turolde* de Papilion." (Monasticon, i. 44.)

† Plate, pages 4, 5, and 9.

‡ Plate, page 9, and the Saxon standard in plate 27.

§ Plate, page 9. The tapestry has here made one shield more than it has made attendants, but a blank one.

|| Ducarrel, plate iii. p. 49.

¶ This fort is like the blockhouse once at Plymouth, a "*castel quadrate*, having at eche "*corner a great round tower*." (Leland's Itin. iii. 4.)

** Plate, page 9.

his shield with a St. Andrew's cross upon it; four others stand behind him, and shew the traces of a St. Andrew's cross upon each of their shields; while two of the besiegers below are setting fire to the town with torches, and have a shield behind either, charged with a St. Andrew's cross like the others. Only of the two last, *this* has two *bezants*, one over the other, in three of its quarters, had therefore (I suppose) in all once; and *that* with equal regularity has two, one over the other, in the two opposite quarters dexter and sinister*. William appears to receive the keys of the town, with a *cross patonce* on his shield, three *bezants* in one curve above it, and three in another below it; while immediately behind him are two warriors, both bearing St. Andrew's crosses upon their shields, and one shewing a *bezant* upon each side of the upper limb of his †. So far we see devices upon shields, almost as frequent upon the continent then, as they are now; and the use of armorial ensigns there, almost as regular in itself, even as diversified in some of its signatures, as it is within our own island at present.

But let us enter the island, with this heraldic luminary shining bright before us; only noting in our passage to it, that on the stern of the large vessel on which William is going to embark, appears a shield with a St. Andrew's cross, bearing four *bezants*, two and two, in the sinister quarter; that on the stern of the vessel immediately ahead of it, is another shield with the same kind of cross, bearing four *bezants*, two and two, nearly opposite in the dexter and sinister quarters; that on the stern of the third are two shields more, one having four *bezants*, two and two, but the other having six in a circle about a *plate* ‡. Now we see William's warriors, instantly after disembarkation, pushing on for Hastings; while one of them has a shield marked with seven *bezants*, three, two, and two, in three successive lines §. Harold is reported to be approaching with his army, the Normans march out from Hastings to fight them, William appears interrogating one *Vitalis* what intelligence he brought concerning them, and *Vitalis* bears a shield of ten *bezants*, two, four, in two lines above a *plate*, three, one, in two lines below it ||. This

* Plate, page 9.

† Ibid.

‡ Plate, page 17.

§ Ibid.

|| Plate, page 22.

mention of a particular person, subordinate in quality and unknown to history, unites with the specification of another before, one still more subordinate in quality, but marked by his low stature, to shew with what fidelity and accuracy the tapestry proceeds to detail the incidents: and the attribution of armorial ensigns to the former shews them to have been equally appropriate with the name to the bearer of both. The next but one after *Vitalis* has *bezants* upon his shield, two now, but formerly (as appears from their position) three, in one line, three more in a second, three in a third, and one in a fourth *. This person is plainly, from the strange sort of helmet which he wears, and which gives him to our eyes all the appearance of wearing a wig, the very same person who is represented on the landing and at the banquetting, with this inscription over him, *Hic est Wadard*, but with no device upon his shield: as he is here represented again, without any name, but with his device †. So interchangeable do devices and names appear, in this instance! The scene next changes to Harold's army; a warrior is beheld upon the watch, holding up his right hand in admiration of what he sees, William's army undoubtedly, and bearing eight *bezants* in a shield on his left arm, three in a slight curve above, one upon each side of a *plate*, with two, one, in two lines below ‡. Another warrior appears immediately afterwards, but with his back turned to the former, bearing a shield of *bezants*, two and two above a *plate*, two and one below it; telling Harold of William's approach, and pointing with his finger backwards to the warrior on the watch, as the author of his intelligence, and the person by whom he was sent §. Harold himself appears receiving the intelligence, pointing forward with his finger as to the warrior on the watch, and bearing nine *bezants* on his shield, one above a *plate*, one upon each side of it, three, two, and one, below it ||. William harangues his soldiery, they prepare for battle, they advance on horseback; but the English meet them on foot. The foremost man of the English appears with a St. Andrew's cross upon his shield, three *bezants* in a line above, one (originally two, I believe) on the dexter side, two still on the sinister, and one below; the shield having two arrows from the Norman archers, infixed into it ¶. The second

* Plate, page 22.

† Plate, page 17.

‡ Plate, page 22.

§ Ibid.

|| Plate, page 22.

¶ Plate, plate 25.

man has the same sort of cross, with only one *bezant* below *. The third has no cross, but two Norman arrows and six *bezants*, two, two, and two, obliquely ranging down the shield †. The fourth has two, two, and one, placed as obliquely ‡. The fifth and sixth have two *bezants*, one above, the other below, but *those* near the middle of the field, and *these* near the upper end of it §. The seventh has four *bezants*, two and two; the eighth has three (two, one); and the ninth has seven (two, three, two), with a Norman arrow sticking in the second line ||. So carefully are the shields diversified one from another, even among the English warriors; and so strongly does the care of diversifying indicate a regular, a steady appropriation of the ensigns to persons! The English army is made immediately to face about, in order to exhibit the Normans again to our view; and the English now appear with shields all blank, because their ensigns have been displayed before. Only in the border below, which here begins (like the margin of some books) to be equally historical with the work itself; among many dead and all English, because all on foot, lies one *covered with a shield to mark out who he is*, of four *bezants* above a *plate*, two and one below it ¶. The Norman warriors are now exhibited, five in number, all having shields, and all bearing ensigns upon them. The first has ten *bezants*, four in a line above, three in a triangle below, and three in another below that **. The second has only two *bezants* above a *plate*, and none below it ††. The third has five in a circle about a *plate* ‡‡. The fourth has six in a circle about the same object §§. And the fifth has a cross, with a *bezant* in each quarter of it |||. But the tapestry now becomes still more particular.

Levine and Gurd, the two brothers of Harold, are killed as they fought on foot. Levine appears pierced with a lance under the right shoulder, but Gurd by a lance in the neck. The slayer of both is exhibited several

* Plate, page 25.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

** Plate, page 25.

†† Ibid. See it again in plate, page 27.

‡‡ Ibid.

§§ Ibid.

||| Ibid.

times, yet each time is marked by the same bearings in his shield, two *bezants* above a *plate*, one on each side of it, and two below; in order to shew decisively who he is, and to give him the full honour of his conduct in that day's victory. He first appears piercing Levine under the shoulder, and carrying a shield of which we can see only the under-side; but, for this very reason, his shield is placed in the border immediately below, with the other side upward. It is placed there, even twice; the first time, covering the dead body of a man in armour, Levine undoubtedly; then a second time, and very near, lying by a body in armour with the head separated from the rest; but, both times, bearing the same *bezants* in the same disposition of them, to ascertain completely who killed Levine and cut off his head. The same Norman instantly appears again in this peculiar kind of history, bearing the same *bezants* in the same disposition again, and fighting with Gurd; the latter armed with a long lance and a bossy shield, having thrust his lance into the breast of the former, while the former has thrust his into the neck of Gurd. But the same Norman instantly appears once more, marked by the same bearings, and engaged in the same fight with Gurd, who has now thrown away his shield, which is placed in the border, has thrown away his lance too, which is placed partly under the belly of the Norman horse, is wielding a battle-axe in one figure, but in another immediately behind is falling to the ground; yet is shewn under all these variations to be Gurd, by the bearings upon the shield of his antagonist, and by the lance of this antagonist being thrust into his neck*. So appropriate, so distinguishing were armorial ensigns then to and of the warriors, in England and in Normandy! So much, indeed, were they then what they are at present, badges known to the generation passing, badges sure to be known by the generations succeeding; or they would never have been inserted with so much attention, and repeated with so much formality, in a work calculated for future as well as present generations!

Behind these is an Englishman on foot, with a sword in his hand and shield on his arm, bearing *bezants* obliquely placed, two above, one (probably two, as one is hid, I believe, by his arm) in the middle, and

* Plate, page 25.

two below ; the very man, who appears the third in the group before, with the same bearings, and two arrows sticking in his shield *. A Norman succeeds on horseback, with eleven *bezants* on his shield, four in one line above a *plate*, two on each side of the *plate*, and two, one, below it †. A Norman horseman is seen fallen to the ground, and by him is a shield *to shew who is meant*, having the same sort of sun's rays issuing out of a cloud upon the dexter side of the field, that we beheld with one of Guy's men before ‡. The English appear rallying, and three of them stand upon an eminence, fighting with Normans on horseback ; two of the three (as being brothers, I suppose) bearing the same ensigns on their shields, five *bezants*, one, three, one ; but the third bearing only three *bezants*, two, one §. A Norman horseman is seen thrusting his lance into the body of an Englishman, equally as the other Englishmen *here* without armour ; and bearing *bezants* in the same number, and with the same disposition, as the two Englishmen before ||. This identity is remarkable, yet not the only one that I shall notice in the tapestry. Another Norman succeeds with five *bezants*, two, one, two ; and his shield appears again in the border no less than three times, once covering an Englishman in armour, but without a horse, to shew what Norman killed the Englishman ; then covering a Norman who has just fallen expiring over the head of his horse, to point out the Norman himself as killed at last ; and finally held up by an Englishman on foot but in armour, to shew *he* killed the Norman ¶. As such clear and certain signatures, as speaking so determinately to the eyes, and appealing so decidedly to the knowledge, of all inspectors, do these bearings continue to be used in this historical tapestry !

On the right of these is another shield in the border, with three *bezants* running perpendicularly down the field of the escutcheon ; to shew the owner, who lies close to one side of it, with his head cut off, and with a sword on the other side of it, then a well-known owner, and plainly an Englishman as he has no horse by him, to have been slain at that stage

* Plate, page 25.

† Plate, page 25. See plate, page 4, 5, before.

|| Plate, page 25.

† Ibid.

§ Plate, page 25.

¶ Ibid.

of the battle *. Odo is then exhibited twice, once as brandishing his club, afterwards as holding his club and beckoning the Normans to advance. William also is seen throwing both his arms abroad, as conjuring the Normans to rally; but holding in one hand his standard, all streaming to the wind. Both reanimate the Normans. The horsemen are pushing on, the archers are letting fly their arrows in the border, and the English are hard pressed. Four of them appear in armour; the last falling headlong to the earth without any shield, but lying dead in the border with a bossy shield close to him, such as we have seen before, yet still with no bearings upon it; the first being armed with a sword, and bearing on his shield what we have not seen lately, though we saw it so frequently once, a cross, a St. Andrew's cross with a *bezant* in each quarter of it; the second brandishing a battle-axe, and exhibiting the very same bearings as before; and the third bearing a St. Andrew's cross, with no *bezants* to it at all †. From the sameness of bearings in the second with the first, and from the immediate proximity of one to the other, I again suppose the owners to be brothers. But, as both are exactly the same with those of an evident Norman before, and as just before we find both an Englishman and a Norman bearing three *bezants* each upon his shield, disposed in the very same manner, we find an identity of armorial ensigns to have occurred so early even as that period; Saxon and Norman families to have even then had a community of arms; a perplexity to have thus begun, which has ended in a fantastic derivation of Saxon families from Norman, among ourselves; but the queen herself to have adhered amidst the perplexity, to truth and to fact. Another Englishman, with his shield at his back, a St. Andrew's cross upon the shield, and *bezants* most irregularly disposed in the quarters of it, two in the first, one in the second, five in the third, and one alone in the fourth; is wielding his battle-axe against a Norman horseman, armed only with a sword, and with a shield of three *bezants* in a curve above a swan ‡. A Norman is then seen on horseback, with a shield of three *bezants* in a curve above, like the former, but with no animal below, with only *bezants*, two, one, there §. So closely were the arms of one warrior

* Plate, page 25.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

assimilated,

assimilated, at times, to those of another ! Yet, so nicely does this loom-wrought chronicle distinguish in general between them ! and so boldly does it bring them close together, to shew it *does* distinguish them !

The death of Harold is coming on, that grand consummation of victory to the Normans. Three Englishmen in armour, and on foot, are opposing the Norman horseman before. The foremost of these is protending his lance against him, and bearing a St. Andrew's cross upon a shield, that is quartered with as much of heraldic formality as a modern escutcheon, having in the first and third quarters respectively three *bezants* in a curve, but in the second and fourth only one *bezant* each*. The next behind is the great standard-bearer of England, grasping with his right hand the staff of his standard, which is rested upon the ground and bears the Saxon dragon above ; yet carrying on his left a shield, that is a half-moon in form, has a long spike projecting from the boss, and shows three *bezants* in a kind of triangle upon the upper half, but four in a kind of lozenge upon the lower†. This shield, therefore, must have been as well known at the moment, to be appropriated to this Saxon, and to be characteristic of him ; as the standard was to be characteristic of, and appropriated to, his very office. Behind him is the king himself, his standard-bearer not merely stepping before him in the moments of danger, but his own station being ordinarily as king, between what was called *the* standard as the king's own, and the dragon as the standard of the nation‡. Yet he himself is *not* now (as we have seen him before) on horseback, with a lance in one hand, and a shield upon his shoulder, of nine *bezants*, with a *plate*§. He is on foot, with a lance protended by his right arm, and a shield hanging upon his left, of a St. Andrew's cross ; one *bezant* in each of the first, second, and fourth quarters, and five *bezants*, two, two, one, obliquely in the third*.

* Plate, p. 27.

† Ibid.

‡ Huntindon, 208. : "Loco regio—, quod erat ex more inter draconem et insigne quod vocatur Standard."

§ Plate, page 22.

* Plate, page 27.

He had been unhorsed, probably, in the battle; had therefore lost his own shield, and had taken up another's. The owner of this is pointed out, by the preservation of the bearings upon it; as Harold himself is decisively indicated under the disguise, by the largeness of his stature, and by the name of *Harold rex* inscribed directly over his head. But the standard-bearer appears dangerously wounded by the Norman horseman above, the lance of the latter running through the neck of the former, and the point coming out behind. This is a capital incident, in the closing part of the battle. The tapestry, therefore, dwells upon it, and in the only manner in which tapestry can dwell, by a mark of progression, and a signature of appropriation. The man who stands grasping the staff of his standard in the higher line of the work, is thrown forward to the ground in the lower, to shew he was killed; and to shew, likewise, who killed him, he is thrown under the head of the Norman's horse, with his dragon close to the fore-feet of the horse*. The death of Harold then follows: the position of the warriors is changed. Another Norman on horseback, having a sword instead of a lance in his hand, *has been engaged* with Harold, no longer armed with a shield and a lance; but having, as in a desperate situation, seized a battle-axe, now sinking with the axe in his hand towards the ground, and bearing over him the words *interfectus est*. He appears again in the border, as quite dead; while close by him is a shield of four *bezants*, two and two, to denote the Norman who killed him, who is not denoted in the regular line of the work, but who bears the same arms with the seventh Englishman in the Saxon group before†; yet the same that appear at the stern of the third vessel of the Normans‡. The English still make a stand, the Normans on horseback attack them, and one of the latter shews a shield charged with thirteen *bezants*, three, four, above a *plate*, three, two, one, below it; while another of them has only two in one line above a *plate*, but none below it§; being the same person that we have seen the second, in the Norman group before||.

Here the work ends, leaving some figures that were never finished, and not going on (as was plainly intended once) to the coronation of

* Plate, p. 27.

† Plate, p. 25.

‡ Plate, p. 17.

§ Plate, p. 27.

|| Plate, p. 25.

William

William at Westminster*. But we thus see the use of armorial devices, common to William and to Harold, common to the Saxons, to the Normans, and to the French, at and before the Conquest; even as distinctly characteristic of particular warriors then, as ever they were in any future period of our history. The arms, therefore, of Normans in the great guard-chamber and barons' hall of William's palace at Caen, those of the latter being in what are denominated by Dr. Ducarrel *heater* shields, as almost all those in the tapestry are upon shields, not square at the upper end, like present heaters, but as, perhaps, ancient heaters were; rounding there, then contracting gradually at the sides, and ending in a point below; *may* be all that they are considered by tradition to be, an original decoration of the floor and walls; from their connexion with the palace, *should*, in all right reasoning, be so considered, unless there was positive proof to the contrary; and, from their connexion with the tapestry, as well as the palace, *must* be actually considered so at present†.

But

* In this stage of the work, it appears to have been discontinued. Then, being found upon admeasurement to be casually as long as the nave of the cathedral at Bayeux, it was begged, probably, by Odo, the bishop of this church, and half-brother to William, as a hanging for the nave. It has, therefore, been used as a hanging for it, immemorially. On St. John's day, and during the octave annexed to it in the Romish liturgy, it is there hung up as a peculiar decoration for a particular festival. It is accordingly noticed in the old inventory of 1476, as "une tente—, laquelle est tendue environ la nef de l'église, le jour et par les octaves des reliques." All the rest of the year it is "carefully kept locked up in a strong wainscot press" within a chapel. (Ducarrel, 79.) And this careful keeping has united with that annual airing, to preserve the tapestry in its present state of perfection. It is said, however, to have narrowly escaped destruction in that burst of barbarism, which recently broke out like a volcano in France, from the fiery materials of liberty, and raged with particular fury under the government of the wretched Robespierre.

† "A few years ago," says Dr. Ducarrel, p. 60, "four of these tiles were brought to England; one of them was soon after presented to my worthy friend, Horace Walpole, esq.; and the other three are now in my own possession." Twenty of the tiles were taken up in the summer of 1786, presented to Charles Chadwick, esq. of Healy Hall in Lancashire, and exhibited in two drawings to the Society of Antiquaries, some time afterwards. But, as the arms upon the tiles were repeated upon two different rows of tiles; as "ces xx ecussons," says an inscription now put up in the cloisters, by the monks of the abbey to which these remains belong, "sont plus ou moins repetes sur deux bandes de xvii toises de long;" Mr. Henniker procured sixteen of the second row, some few months afterward. He then drew

up

But let us not leave the point, even here. So long and so grossly mistaken as it has been, let us mount a few ages higher in the country of France,

up a treatise on them, and printed it for distribution among his friends; which I have never seen, and know only from an antagonist. From the latter I find, that the former maintained in it, as I have done, the use of arms before the Conquest; and appealed, as I have equally done, to the tapestry of Bayeux in proof of the point, but appealed also to the Ely picture, which I have not done, and cannot in any propriety do. (See Bentham's Ely, Appendix, p. 3. 9.) His antagonist replies, that he has "examined the engravings of the Bayeux tapestry very minutely," but is "sorry" he "cannot find *the least trace* of what" he "*would venture to call* coats of arms." Indeed, "there are upon it," he owns, "spurs, buckles, sword-chapes, and other small articles *far less than* armorial bearings." This logic is admirable. Because the arms are not tricked out in all the magnitude of modern arms, they are no arms at all; and the smallness of a man annihilates his very nature. But "spurs, buckles, sword-chapes, and other small articles," it seems, are *not* "armorial bearings," in the opinion of this herald; when they actually appear in *several* bearings *at present*, have equally appeared for ages, and when one of them, the buckle, appears in one of his own coats at Caen. (See the Gent. Mag. lix. 211, 212, shield 2d, in drawing, and lx. 711.) Nor has the author "examined" the tapestry in the engravings, "very minutely," whatever he may say; there being *no* spurs, *no* buckles, *no* sword chapes, upon the shields in it, and there being coats of arms (as we have seen) repeatedly there. Yet he contends, that coat-armour, *if* used, was not *hereditary* at the Conquest (p. 711); when, to complete the confusion that he has made before, in lix. 212, he really appropriates some of his own coats at Caen to English-Norman families, as *still bearing them*; and when, in lx. 711, he equally appropriates one of these very coats to a French-Norman family, as *equally bearing it still*. The arms, then, are as old as the palace, and the palace as old as tradition makes it. "Ces xx pavés," say the monks, as they record the tradition, "ont été relevés d'une des salles de l'ancien palais les ducs de Normandie à Caen, autour de la quelle avoient été peints les ecus de seigneurs, qui avoient accompagnés le duc Guillaume à la conquête de l'Angleterre." (P. 212.)

Since I wrote the paragraph above, even in January 1795, Mr. Henniker published that account in the form of a letter, with a letter additional, under the title of "Two Letters on the Origin, Antiquity, and History, of Norman Tiles, stained with armorial Bearings." In this work Mr. Henniker, now Mr. Henniker Major, refers the commencement of arms among us to the feudal tenures (p. 16, 19), and to the introduction of these tenures into England (p. 20-22); appeals to the Bayeux tapestry, but not very minutely or very forcibly, for arms (p. 24-28), ascribing to Ducarrel what belongs only to Lethicullier (p. 25, 26); appeals to the Ely picture, but very slightly (p. 31, 32); and shews several families, Norman or English, to bear the same arms as those on the tiles, adding four more to the sixteen (p. 34-45, misprinted and transposed for 43, 48, 49, 52-54, 55-61, 68, 71-73, 73, 74, 74, 75, 75-91.)

France, that parent at once of population and refinement to this island, which appears to have attained the character that it *lately* bore, of superior polish in manners, even as early as the ninth century*, in order to shew more clearly still the erroneousness of all those antiquaries, who have reduced the commencement of escutcheons and of arms to a period below the Conquest. I shall, however, adduce only one monument for the purpose. This is the famous arch of Orange, which in another work I have shewn to have been erected by Domitius Ænobarbus, about a hundred and twenty years before our æra†. In this monument, though about twelve hundred years prior to the tapestry, we have many shields equally charged with devices or arms. This may seem astonishing to most of my readers, but is actually true in itself. Upon the eastern face of the arch we have three compartments, each containing a trophy, with a shield on either side, and *four* of the shields apparently, all *six* seemingly, decorated with figures, not reducible, perhaps, to any in the present system of heraldry, but probably trunks of trees with branches, transverse or lateral‡; and certainly, as appears from Florus's very early account of these trophies, Barbarian or Gallic§. On the western face are two trophies, with two shields exactly the same, and one above, seemingly Roman||. Upon the northern are three tro-

91.) "There have been other armorial bearings," adds the author, p. 91, "in the same building from which these tiles are taken, now effaced by age. La Rocque, in the second vol. p. 1291, asserts, that he had seen the arms of Percy, viz. a shield sable, with a chief indented Or." But, as the author subjoins in p. 107, "Robert Wace, who lived in the time of our Henry the First—, when this poet describes the battle of Walesdunes, fought in 1046,—says that there was no baron,—*who had not his gonfaron* (standard-bearer) *following him*, and that *every one* [all of them] had their arms painted in different manners."

* Gale, i. 360, Malmesbury: "Carolus [Calvus]—, cū vidisset—Johannem [Scotum] quiddam fecisse quod *Gallicanam comitatem* offenderet," &c.

† Course of Hannibal, i. 36-39.

‡ Breval's Second Travels, ii. 144, 145, and plate.

§ Florus, iii. 2: "Saxeas erexere turres, et desuper exornata armis *hostilibus* tropæa *fixere*." Mr. Pownall, in his Antiquities of Provence, &c. first suggested this useful application of Florus, p. 28.

|| See Breval's plate.

phies,

phies, with twelve shields, all equally Gallic, therefore, some presenting the same devices as the preceding, others exhibiting similar, but one bearing a large circle within it*. On the southern are three trophies and seven shields more, the latter equally Gallic, therefore, with all the rest, bearing devices similar to, or the same as, the others, only one of them bearing a kind of gate upon it†. These Gallic shields have two among them inscribed with Roman names, *Marius* and *Caius*, but names adopted, undoubtedly, by Gauls, as the shields are Gallic, and inscribed upon the shields apparently to denote their Gallic owners‡. Others bear names that are as evidently Gallic as the shields themselves, *Udillo*, *Dacurdo*, *Rodagus*, and *Boduacus*; all written, like the Roman before, in Roman characters, within an adscititious border§. But we have actually one shield, that has a *regular coat of arms* upon it; a stork in the first and fourth quarters, with a kind of small windmill sails crossing each other, so used (I suppose) on board the Gallic vessels here represented, on the second and third||. All this must certainly appear astonishing to our minds, when we recollect what Dr. Ducarrel and the heraldic antiquaries are continually averring, about the late origin of arms¶. Yet

* See Breval's plate.

† See the same plate.

‡ Breval, 149, and Pownall, 26, plate also, p. 25.

§ Breval, 149, 150; Pownall, 26. Let me add, however, in opposition to Breval, 150, that the Bituitus of the history *cannot* be the Boduacus of the arch; because Bituitus was in the battle against *Fabius*, not in that against *Domitius*. The latter "*adversus Allobrogas ad oppidum Vindalium feliciter pugnavit*," while the former "*adversus Allobrogas, et Bituitum Arvernorum regem, feliciter pugnavit*." (Livy's Epitome, lxi.)

|| See Pownall's plate 25.

¶ Mr. Swinburne, in his *Travels through and from Spain*, ii. 445, arguing against the ascription of the arch to Marius, and aiming to reduce the date of it as low as Adrian, or the Antonines, terminates all his reasoning with this fundamental assertion; that, in the time even of Marius, "Rome had not then deviated so much from the austere simplicity of her republican principles, as to suffer her generals to erect trophies of their victories." In modern reasoning, assertions merely gratuitous are often brought forward as conclusive arguments. We see one so brought here; and, to shew how false it is, I need only repeat at large what I have partially cited before from Florus, as relative to this very arch and another:

"utriusque

Yet, to carry that origin to its full point of remoteness, let me in conclusion remark with Mr. Pownall, that, in this Gallic memorial erected by Roman hands so many centuries ago, *almost* "each *boucler*" [an *Englishman* would have said, *buckler*] "seems to have its *characteristic* "mark and *distinctive* engraving on it, according to the custom of the "Gauls and Germans, and indeed of *all military nations*; which was expressed, not only by *lines*, but *colours* *." Mr. Pownall here cites in a note what is so happy an evidence of his assertion, that it ought to be exalted into the text. "Nothing was so conspicuous in the triumph," Florus tells us, "as king Bituitus himself in those *variously coloured arms*, "in which he had fought †." And the Germans "*distinguish* their "*shields*," adds Tacitus, "with the *choicest colours* ‡." But, as Mr. Pownall proceeds very judiciously in the *general sentiment*, "this bearing of a *national*, a *family*, and even a *personal*, distinctive mark "amongst warrior-nations, *has always been*, and is, *common to all people in* "*every stage of civilization*. Warriors, in that state which we call savage, "*observe this custom*. The *savages of America do at this day*, what the "*roving savages of Rome*, and those of the North, did formerly. They "[these] took for their distinctive mark the eagle, the boar, the dog," and, as he should in consistency have added, the stork §; "these [those] take

"utriusque victoriæ quod quantumque gaudium fuerit, vel hinc existimari potest, quod et Domitius Ænobarbus et Fabius Maximus, ipsis quibus dimicaverant locis, saxeas erexere turres, "et desuper exornata armis hostilibus tropæa, fixere; quum hic mos inusitatus fuerit nostris," not because they were republicans forsooth! an intimation worthy only of a Bedlamite Frenchman at present! but "nunquam enim populus Romanus hostibus domitis victoriam "*suam exprobravit*," a position equally false in fact, yet much more honourable in sentiment.

* Pownall, 25.

† Florus, iii. 2: "Nil tam conspicuum in triumpho, quàm rex ipse Bituitus discoloribus "in armis—, qualis pugnauerat."

‡ Tacitus De Mor. Germ. § 6: "Scuta autem [tantum] lectissimis coloribus distinguunt."

§ "A stork, the proper emblem of migration, and peculiarly of migration from winter "regions to those nearer the sun." (Pownall, 36.)

"some bird or beast, according to the idea of the character which they
"would express ||."

Even

|| Pownall, 25, 26. This author knew nothing of Breval's plates and Breval's description of the arch, therefore takes no notice of them in his enumeration of writers and designers, p. 22, 23, and thus has missed what I may fairly call, I believe, the best representation of the arch ever yet given, with the best account before Mr. Pownall's own. The author also sees not the name of *Caius*, seen by Mr. Breval there; and reads the other names of Mr. Breval, *Mario* or *Marco*, *Ducado* or *Ricard*, *Urdlus*, *Auto*, *Sacroling*, and *Roduacus* (26, 27). In this opposition and encounter of readings, which of them shall we prefer? Not *his* surely, who, assigning the arch to Fabius when it belonged to Domitius, actually spies one characteristic circumstance of Fabius's victory in Domitius's arch. But indeed Mr. Pownall is even too lively and too ingenious to be consistent and uniform. He says in my text above, that "this bearing of a national, a family, and even a personal, distinctive mark has always been, and is, common to all people in every stage of civilization;" yet he instantly adds, that "the civilized Romans abided not by these silly marks;" and he equally adds, that "this, before writing was in common use, was of course and necessity the study and peculiar business of the heralds of an army, but that this picture-writing, since elementary writing and names are the common and the proper modes of communication and distinction, should become, in all the pomp and circumstances of savage manners, a science of high name called Heraldry, is too absurd for any thing but the poverty of pride." The period runs off with all the graceful rapidity of a fine race-horse upon the turf;

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum;

and it reaches the goal, in a career of triumph. But unfortunately the poor animal has given his back a fatal strain, by his exertions. What has "always been common to all people in every stage of civilization," was actually despised as "silly" by "the civilized Romans," and really had its birth "before writing was in common use," even in all the "pomp and circumstance of savage manners." This is a splendid instance of that meteorous kind of composition, which bursts out in a blaze, then loses itself in its own smoke, and, when it bursts out again, appears to have migrated into an opposite point of the heavens. The fact is, that Mr. Pownall began with considering the distinctions of arms, as maintained in all ages of civilization; that he afterwards reflected, they were found also among savage nations; that his train of ideas took fire at the reflection, and blazed out in making the civilized Romans despise these distinctions, so throwing abuse upon heraldry as founded only on savage manners. Such gross contradictions is a mind like Mr. Pownall's, brilliant, refined, and learned, capable of admitting within so short a compass. But let us advert to another set of them. In p. 28, 29, Mr. Pownall argues, that the arch was *not* "erected to the honour of the victory gained by Marius over the *Cimbri* and *Ambrones*," because then "we should have seen amongst the *torphee*s the *bull's head*," the ensign of the *Cimbri*. Yet in p. 25 he says, that "each boucler seems to have its characteristic mark and distinctive engraving

Even in our own country, let me subjoin, in order to bring the whole home to ourselves, we find armorial bearings in use among us *before* the Conquest. In that church of Aldbrough within Holderness, which I have noticed before as proved to be Saxon by a Saxon inscription on its walls, and which exhibits the inscription engraved upon the southern wall of the nave, running round a stone that projects about two inches from the wall, and has the area within divided into eight segments by lines from centre to circumference, merely in the ancient mode of delineating the cross of Christ, is within one of these segments, but near the bottom of the stone, what is denominated even by a herald “a rude figure, composed of six lines crossing each other at right angles*.” So much does misapprehension disguise objects by description! The object is apparently to the eye a PORT-CULLIS; that armorial bearing, which became the characteristic ensign of the house of Lancaster particularly, and is still

“engraving upon it, according to the custom of the Gauls and *Germans*,” in p. 26 he adds, that “the savages of America do at this day, what the roving savages—of the *North* did formerly;” in p. 27 asserts with regard to *Sacroling*, a name read by him on the arch, that “*ling* is a termination commonly used among the *northern* people, to express descendants or emigrating colony;” in p. 35, 36, remarks concerning the Gallic names on the arch, that “he thinks they belonged to some of those people” [a note here specifies “the Cimbri” expressly], “who, coming from the *North*, were settled on the coast in Aquitaine and Poitou, countries so called from these settlers, as *Ach-y-Tane*, the tribes of the Tanes, in later times called Danes;” and in p. 36 observes finally, that the device upon one of the shields, “a stork, the proper emblem of *migration*, and peculiarly of migration from *winter* regions to those nearer the sun,” confirms him in his opinion. Thus the argument derived from the absence of the bull’s head among the hostile ensigns on the arch, is first precluded in p. 25-27, then proposed in p. 28, 29, and then rejected again in p. 35, 36, while Mr. Pownall is wholly unconscious of all; the Cimbri, in full despite of the argument, being held and held to have been the nation beaten in the victory commemorated upon it. Contradictions so striking as these, are the death-wounds of an author, inflicted by his own hand; and carry him at once, with self-murder on his head, to the bar of condemnation.

* Mr. Brooke, Somerset Herald, and a man of considerable abilities, in Arch. vi. 40, 41, and plate: “The three crosses combined,” as Mr. Pegge calls the *four* lines intersecting each other at the centre, “in the area of the stone, may probably allude to the Trinity.” (Arch. vii. 89.) But in ii. 2, before, we have a cross nearly similar, yet formed only of *three* lines; and a second, formed only of *two*. We see that therefore to be merely a single cross, a little more involved and complex than *these*, but still in the very form of them.

retained by its descendants the dukes of Beaufort; only *without* the square piece of timber that now guards the sides of it, *without* the rings or the chains that now are attached to the corners, and in its ancient, primitive fashion among us. The figure is apparently armorial, as it was evidently intended to unite with the inscription, in shewing by whom the church was built. The builder assuredly lived in a castle at Aldbrough, which is found existing a few years afterward †; and therefore took the port-cullis for his badge, just as the founder of the house of Lancaster took it afterwards, from his castle of Beaufort in Anjou. Nor let it be presumed in the vanity of ignorance, which is almost always attributing a singular invention to modern times, that a port-cullis is merely a modern defence for an ancient gate. It is plainly an ancient one, derived to us from those who certainly had castles in the island, the Romans or Roman Britons ‡; and transmitted through the Saxons to ourselves. The Romans had the port-cullis in use, so early as the days of Hannibal; when he sent a party of Roman deserters to enter Salapia in Italy by night as Romans, and when these, says Livy, found “the gate was closed as the *“ cataract was let down; this the garrison partly raise by levers”* in a windlass, “*partly lift by ropes*” fastened to the ends and to the windlass, “so high that the deserters *could pass under it erect*; the way was “scarcely opened enough, when the deserters rush in eagerly through “the gate; but when nearly six hundred had entered, *the rope by which “the cataract was suspended, being suffered to run back, it fell down with “a great noise §.*” Here we see the modern port-cullis in full form among the ancients. We also see the Roman nature of the name, *Porta Clausa*; in French, *Porte d’Ecluse*, now applied only to a sluice or flood-gate by the French, the very object to which, equally as to a port-cullis,

† Arch. vi. 45, 46, 47: “In early times,” says Mr. Brooke himself, p. 49, “before the use of autographs, and when seals were the only evidence, we find our ancestors were much more tenacious of such [armorial] ensigns, than of their nominal appellation.”

‡ Nennius, c. ii. p. 98: “Cum innumeris castellis ex lapidibus et lateribus fabricatis.”

§ Livy, xxvii. 28: “[Porta] Cataractâ dejectâ clausa erat; eam partim vectibus levant, partim funibus subducunt, in tantum altitudinis, ut subire recti possent; vix dum satis patebat iter, quum perfugæ certatim ruunt per portam; et quum sexcenti ferme intrassent, remisso fune quo suspensa erat, cataracta magno sonitu cecidit.”

was *Cataracta* applied by the Romans ; and in Welsh, what is obviously the very source of our English appellation, *Porth-cwlis*, a gate being *Porth* in Welsh, and *Cwlis* literally a closer, but largely a wear, a cataract, and even by itself a port-cullis. Little reason therefore have we to fear finding a port-cullis among the Saxons, though the French have so far lost the name and the origin, as to call it only *Herce*, a harrow, or *Sarrasine*, the harrow of the Saracens. Being the ancient closer of a castle-gate, it became the natural symbol of a castle, was therefore used as such by John of Gaunt from his castle in Anjou, and had been previously used by Ulf from his castle of Aldbrough. This latter castle was soon taken from the family of Ulf, in the violence of the Norman conquest ; and the family therefore, though restored in its dignity, yet not reinstated in its castle, retained not the cognizance afterwards ||. But, previously to this humiliation of the house, the port-cullis served as an useful indication of the founder ; and he, who is simply denominated Ulf in the inscription, is by the cognizance marked out to be Ulf, the lord of the castle. We thus find an armorial ensign even in the times of the Saxons, used as familiarly and easily as in our own, to denote a particular family.

Yet let us mount still higher. In Nennius, who wrote about 630 ¶ ; or in his Enlarger, who interpolated under 858 * ; we find Arthur reported “ in the battle of Castle Gunnion, to have borne the image of the “ cross of Christ, and of the perpetual Virgin St. Mary, upon his “ shoulders ;” or, as another historian writing about 1120, and calling it merely the image of the Virgin Mary, more pointedly says, to have borne it “ fastened to his armour ;” or, as a third writer speaks about the same year, in a strain of explicitness more consonant with historical propriety, “ to have had a shield on his shoulders, on which was painted the

|| Arch. vi. 43, 45, 48, 49.

¶ The history comes down in the last chapter, the 65th, to the baptism of Edwin king of Northumbria in 627. (Bede's Hist. ii. 4.) This marks the general æra of his writing very accurately.

* Nennius, 93, 94: “ Octingentesimo quinquagesimo octavo anno Dominicæ Incarnationis.”

“ image of St. Mary, the Mother of God;” “ and the Pagans were
 “ turned to flight that day, and many fell, and a great destruction came
 “ upon them, by the virtue of” the image of “ our Lord Jesus Christ,
 “ and of his holy Mother †.” This shews us very lively the great reason, why the cross was so much borne as we have seen it before by warriors; men very naturally deviating into a too confident but a still religious fashion, of transferring an aid merely spiritual to a purpose *wholly* temporal, when the battle is between Christians and Christians, but *half* spiritual as well as temporal, when the battle is, as in Arthur’s case it was, of Christians against Pagans. Arthur therefore took for his cognizance on his shield, our Saviour upon the cross, and the Virgin Mary at the foot of it; moved through the ranks as he gave his orders, bearing his shield upon his shoulders; and modestly attributed his great victory at last, not to his own good management, but to the Providence of God in general, to the power of our Saviour and his Mother in particular, so portrayed upon his shield. Arthur thus acted like a Crusader, though ages before Crusades begun; and felt, I doubt not, an energy from the act, that braced his arm, that strung his heart, that gave him at once the calm dignity of intellect and the impelling fervour of passion, that thus made him more a hero than mere nature could ever have made him.

The floor of duke William’s palace then at Caen in Normandy, whatever Dr. Ducarrel, in a mere echo of the common babble of antiquaries, may repeat to the contrary, might be many ages older than tradition reports it to be, notwithstanding the armorial distinctions delineated upon it. This floor, let me repeat from the Doctor, “ is paved with tiles—; “ eight rows of these tiles are charged with different coats of arms—; “ the intervals between each of these rows are filled up with a kind of

† Nennius, lxiii. : “ Bellum in Castello Gunnion, in quo Arthur portavit imaginem crucis Christi, et Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis, super humeros suos; et Pagani versi sunt in fugam in illo die, et multi ceciderunt, plagaque magna super eos venit, per virtutem Domini Jesu Christi, sanctæque suæ Genitricis;” or, as Malmesbury adds, Arthur acted that day “ fretus imagine Dominicæ Matris, quam armis suis insuerat” (f. 4); or, as an author in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 658, writes, “ humeros etiam suos clipeo protegit, “ quo imago S. Mariæ, Dei Genitricis, depicta constitit.”

“ tessellated

“ tesselated pavement; the middle whereof represents a maze or labyrinth, about ten feet in diameter, and so artfully contrived, that were we to suppose a man following all the intricate meanders of its volutes, he could not travel less than a mile before he got from the one end to the other.” This maze was made, we may be sure, in representation of that usual appendage once to all our grander pleasure-grounds, the winding labyrinth. At Hampton Court, in a wilderness of ten acres, is a labyrinth possibly as old as the time of Henry VIII.. As this is perhaps the only such garden-device, now remaining after the devastations of Messrs. Kent and Brown, I shall mention some particulars relative to it. *The winding walks* amount to *half a mile*, though *the whole extent* is not perhaps more than *a quarter of an acre*; and there is a stand adjacent, in which the gardener places himself, in order to extricate you by his direction, after the stranger acknowledges himself to be completely tired and puzzled.—Switzer,” in his *Ichnographia Rustica*, 3 volumes octavo, “condemns this labyrinth for having but *four* stops, whereas he had given a plan for one with *twenty* *.” Such tesselated pavements, however, as this which had the maze in the middle of it, came to us originally from the Romans; and the Romans had them from their general masters in knowledge, the Greeks.. “Pavements had their rise,” says Pliny, “among the Greeks, being elaborated by art in the manner of a picture, till the lithostrōta,” or floors formed of inlaid stones, “expelled them.—The pavements first formed, I believe, are what we are now recalling into use, the *barbaric* and the *tile-made*, paved with beetles in Italy. This we may conclude from the name itself,” of *Barbaric*.. “One so wrought at Rome was first made in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, after the commencement of the third Punic war: But that pavements were frequent before the war with the Cimbri afterwards, to the high gratification of taste, is evident from that line in Lucilius,

“ Pavements inlaid, and worm’d all o’er with art †,”

The

* Arch. vii. 125, 126; Mr. Barrington.

† Pliny, xxxvi. 25: “Pavimenta originem apud Græcos habent, elaborata arte picturæ ratione, donec lithostrota expulserunt eam.—Pavimenta credo primùm facta, quæ nunc revocamus, barbarica atque subtegulanea, in Italiâ fistucis pavita: hoc certè ex nomine ipso
“intelligi

The lines of Lucilius himself are rather more apposite still :

..... Small squares

Inlaid by paving, and worm'd o'er with art,

Form'd in one whole †.

But “ the lithostrota,” or floors formed of inlaid stones, adds Pliny, “ began now under Sylla with crusts of stone very small indeed ; and “ that, which he laid in the temple of Fortune at Præneste, remains to this “ day. Then pavements were raised from the ground, transferred to “ rooms with vaults under them, and made *glassy*. This is a very late “ invention ; as Agrippa, who painted the tile-floors in his baths at “ Rome with enamel, and decorated all the walls with whitewash, would “ certainly have framed his chambers with *glassy* floors, if that invention “ had been then known §.” These four sorts of flooring we surprisingly find all together, in the great guard-chamber and barons’ hall of William, which were rooms upstairs, and had waiting-rooms (now granaries equally with themselves) under them. In the guard-chamber “ the “ floor is paved with *tiles*, baked almost to a *vitriification*.” A part also is “ elaborated by art in the manner of a picture,” as “ eight rows of “ these tiles—are charged with different coats of arms,” and as those in the barons’ hall “ are stained with the figures of stags and dogs in full “ chase.” Another part exhibits “ the lithostrota,” or floors formed of inlaid stones, as “ the intervals between each of these rows are filled up, “ with a kind of tessellated pavement.” We have also here

“ intelligi potest. Romæ sculpturatum in templo Jovis Capitolini æde, primùm factum est “ post tertium Punicum bellum initum. Frequentata verò pavimenta ante Cimbricum, “ magnâ gratiâ animorum ; indicio est Lucilianus ille versus,

“ Arte pavimenta atque emblemata vermiculata.”

† Lucilius,

..... Tesserulæ

Arte, pavimento, atque emblemate vermiculato,

Compositæ.

§ Pliny, xxxvi. 25 : “ Lithostrota cœptavêre jam sub Syllâ, parvulis certè crustis ; extat “ hodieque, quod in Fortunæ delubro Præneste fecit. Pulsâ deinde ex humo pavimenta ; in “ cameras transiêre e vitro : novitium est hoc inventum. Agrippa certè in thermis quas “ Romæ fecit, figlinum opus encausto pinxit ; in reliquis, albariâ decoravit ; non dubiè “ vitreas facturûs cameras, si priûs inventum id fuisset.”

Small

..... Small squares

Inlaid by paving, and worm'd o'er with art,
Form'd in one whole;

as the middle of this tessellated pavement represents, what exactly meets the very terms of Lucilius, and what therefore I suppose Lucilius to have actually meant, a maze or labyrinth; such as we know to have been framed in Lemnos, in Crete, and in Egypt, composed less artfully than ours of great buildings, yet wound so well in all the spires and folds of an artificial serpent, as not to be traced without a clue. We see also the *lithostroton* again, in that judicial chamber without the *prætorium* at Jerusalem; at which the president of the province sat in state upon his tribunal, and for which we are obliged in our English Bible to use only the simple appellation of *pavement**. We see it once more in those “inlaid square pieces of coloured marble in floors,” says an author who wrote, I believe, about the year 1716, “*such as were lately discovered at Blenheim-house,*” on pulling down (a few years before) that hunting-seat of our Norman and Saxon kings †. But we see it finally in the tiles, which have been equally discovered in the Saxon chancel of St. German's, so very like in one grand point to the tiles of the great guard-chamber, which are “baked almost to a vitrification;” so very like too, to the “glassy floors” of Pliny; being covered over with a thin coat of vitrified or glassy matter on the surface, thin enough to be transparent in itself, and to shew the flowers or figures below.

This sort of ornamental pavement, in its introduction at Rome, was first employed in decorating a *temple*. Thus “the barbaric and the “tile-made,” which Pliny's cotemporaries, he tells us, “are now recalling “into use,” and which *therefore* prevailed, I suppose, so much as from their remains we find them prevailing, through three or four ages afterward, was first laid “in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, after the commencement of the third Punic war.” Thus also “the *lithostrota* began—under Sylla; and that, which was laid in the temple of Fortune “at Præneste, remains to this day.” Such facts do honour to the head.

* John, xix. 13. Λιθοστρωτον.

† Ainsworth under *Crusta*; the only preserver of the fact, I believe.

and heart of the Romans; a reverence for the Great Lord of all, being one of the justest sentiments and finest feelings in the soul of man, one that most exalts even while it humbles the soul, one that raises the soul nearest to a level with the adoring, yet dignified, Intellects of Heaven. So applied to the decoration of temples at first, the art of making what the Romans called *musive*, and we with some deviation from them denominate *mosaic*, was transferred afterwards to ornament the houses of provincial presidents, the very pavilions of generals, and the very parlours of private gentlemen. Julius Cæsar, as Suetonius informs us, always “carried about with him in his expeditions, pavements tessellated and cut” for the flooring of his tent*. We are finding such pavements continually, in all the Roman parts of our own island; not confined to baths, as the popular opinion of our antiquaries too narrowly confines them, but the fixed carpetting of Roman or Roman-British parlours, suspended upon low pillars of brick or stone, and so having a fire occasionally lighted under them from without for the sake of warmth. The Romans thus avoided all that inconvenience of smoke, to which our modern parlours are exposed; but lost all that a domestic man feels so grateful to his spirits, the cheerfulness of a fire burning brightly before him; and did not even gain the warmth, which our boarded floors and our woollen or silken carpets now give us. These carpets betray themselves, by their *tesserae* or squares, to be a mere imitation of the tessellated floorings of antiquity; as the pavements vitrified or glazed are still imitated, in our floors so glossy as to be slippery, and even so slippery at times, as to require the use of chalk, delineating a fantastical kind of scroll-work upon them. The same are equally found upon the continent, though not so often as in Britain, I believe, with these subterraneous stoves under them; the difference in the climate causing this variation in the structure. “We discover works of mosaic,” says the French historian of Lyons, “in almost all the ancient towns; but principally in those which “were” the principal towns of the country, “Roman colonies, as “Lyons, Arles, Narbonne, Nimes, Orange, Frejus†,” &c. But floors of mosaic

* Suetonius, c. 47: “In expeditionibus tessellata et sectiliæ pavimenta circumtulisse.”

† Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon, par le P. de Colonia, in 2 vols. quarto, 1728, i. 240: “On trouve de ces ouvrages à la mosaïque presque dans toutes les villes anciennes, “mais

mosaic still continued to be used in *temples*; as in 1666 a floor was found under a vineyard at Lyons, that had a wall covered with inlaid work of *wainscot*, and exhibited the figures of a female Hermes, a Cupid, a Satyr, with a Silvanus. “This pavement,” says the historian, “which is about twenty feet in length and ten in breadth, is happily preserved entire: it is composed of small tiles in squares of different but natural colours, curiously arranged, but bound together by a cement, *or rather* gum, so delicate, that *with difficulty can you perceive the joints in it*, yet so strong as *to resist the injuries of either air or time*. The middle of this pavement is filled up with a square, three feet long and four broad;” where those ridiculous deities of heathenism, those mockeries even of the mock-divinities of the pagans, were all figured forth as objects of worship to the deranged mind of man†. This shews the taste and ingeniousness with which these mosaic floors continued to be made for *temples*. But the ingeniousness and the taste were naturally transferred to *churches*; when all the goblins and all the fiends, that had so long walked the earth under the darkness of paganism, were chased away by the bursting sun of Christianity. “The pavement of our church of Aisnay,” the historian of Lyons again tells us, “*close to the high altar*,” just as the pavement in St. German’s church was found, but “*before the high altar*,” a notice which fixes the precise position of the other at St. German’s, “is wholly mosaic.” So we find a mosaic to have been laid, *before the high altar* at Westminster abbey, *before the altar* at the prior’s chapel in Ely, and *before the high altar* at Worcester cathedral; being at Worcester composed, like our own, of painted squares of brick, and shewing one of the squares still upon the *first step*; thus

“mais sur tout dans celles qui ont été des colonies Romaines, comme Lyon, Arles, Narbonne, Nîmes, Orange, Frejus,” &c.

† Histoire, i. 237-239: “Le pavé, qui a environ vingt pieds de longueur sur dix de largeur, est heureusement resté tout entier. Ce pavé est composé de petits carreaux de diverses couleurs naturelles, artistement arrangés, et liés ensemble avec un ciment ou plutôt un mastic, si délicat, qu’a peine en apperçoit-on les jointures, et neantmoins si fort, qu’il résiste aux injures de l’air et du temps. Le milieu de ce pavé est rempli, par un quarré de trois pieds haut [long] et de quatre de large.”

forming, in all those churches, the immediate approach to the altar †. "We see there," adds the historian of Lyons, and means in the middle of it, "the figure of archbishop Amblard," who caused this church to be rebuilt in the *tenth* century, or rather (as the author corrects himself afterwards) pope Pascal, who consecrated it in the *twelfth*, in 1106, and "who holds a representation of the church in his hands," formed of small, black stones; "a verse written equally in mosaic, but half fretted away by time, informs us that it was pope Pascal II. who consecrated it *." This church of Aisnay, therefore, was rebuilt about the same time that our nave, our chancel, and our north aisle at St. German's were constructed; and the mosaic was placed there, just after the consecration. But we find even in a church at Lyons a mosaic, which is considered as still older. "The church of St. Irenæus," the historian assures us, "was also paved anciently with mosaic. A part of this pavement remains for our inspection at present, preserved under the planks that cover it; and we may read upon it eight Leonine verses, which are judged by their style to be of the *tenth* or *eleventh* century †." So late did the use of those mosaic floors continue in our churches,

† Mr. Gough in Arch. x. 154: "The floor before the altar," says Thomas concerning the cathedral of Worcester, "seems to have been paved with *painted quarries of brick*, and some of them with coats of arms *as in Malvern church*: one still remains on the first step, bearing quarterly," &c. (P. 82.)

* Histoire, i. 240: "Le pavé de notre eglise d'Aisnay, pres du grand autel, est tout à la mosaïque. On y voit [au milieu de ce pavé, ii. 31] la figure de l'archevêque d'Amblard, qui fit rebatir cette eglise, dont il tient la representation entre les mains. Un vers écrit aussi en mosaïque, mais a demi rongé par le temps, nous apprend que ce fut le pape Pascal II. qui la consacra.

" 'Hanc ædem sacram Paschalis papa dicavit'."

Histoire, ii. 30: "Il est vrai qu'Amblard fit rebatir dans le *dixième* l'église de Saint Martin," in Aisnay; which had been ruined by the Saracens "dans le huitième siècle;" but was not consecrated till A.D. 1106. (P. 31-33.) "L'inscription qui accompagne cette effigie mosaïque, me fait croire que c'est celle du pape Pascal, dont on lit le nom encore bien entier et bien marqué dans ce vers," &c. (p. 32); "—on voit effigie du pape Pascal II. qui est placée *devant* le grand autel" (p. 31); "la representation de l'église faite avec ce même pavé de petites pierres noires" (p. 34, from Spon).

† Histoire, i. 240: "L'église de Saint Irenée étoit aussi autre-fois pavé à la mosaïque. Il nous reste encore aujourd'hui une partie de ce pavé, qu'on conserve sous des planches qui

churches, which now constitute one of the grand decorations of them at Rome; being transmitted from the Romans and their temples, but generally transmitted, as we even see in some mosaics still existing at St. Peter's in Rome, with the foul adherences of that barbarism, through the hands of which it was conveyed; paving the area of some churches at Rome in part or in whole, but in French, in English churches paving only just *before* the high altar; paving that part in France with a mosaic, not very fine, as I infer from all suppression of praise by the historian concerning it, and indeed rude in itself, as I equally infer from the rude manner in which the verses are written upon it †; even paving the immediate approach to the high altar at St. German's, with squares of mosaic still more rude in all probability; but paving *that* certainly *after* the consecration in 1106, consequently in the *twelfth* century, and *this* assuredly at the very construction of the chancel, in the *tenth* §.

“le couvrent, et sur lequel ont lit huit vers Leonins, qu'on juge à leur stile etre du dixieme ou du onzieme siecle.”

† Histoire, ii. 34, exhibits them, and they are, says the author from Spon, “*ecrits d'un caractere fort embrouillé,*” the letters being “*caracteres Gothiques qui la [inscription] composent, et qui en rendent la lecture assez difficile.*” (P. 34 and 35.)

§ In Arch. x. 152, Mr. Gough, in proof that Constantine the Great transferred mosaics from temples, very usefully for us appeals to “the mosaics, with which the dome of the church of St. Constantia in the Via Nomentana at Rome was decorated by him (Ciampini *Vetera Ædificia*, part ii. p. 1-5, Rom. 1699); which were probably removed from some pagan temple.”

At St. Peter's in Rome are some “subterraneous vaults, which are full of *excellent* mosaic—, formerly the *pavement* of the *old* church of St. Peter.—This pavement is supposed to have been made, *in the time of Constantine the Great.*—This curious art” of working in mosaic “has been greatly improved during *these two last* centuries, as *may be seen* by the *coarse* works of the old small *cupolas* in St. Peter's; where the *studs* are made of *burnt clay*, and varnished with several colours *on the surface* only; but they are gradually taken away, to make room for the finer work of later times.” In the Clementine chapel at St. Peter's, “a mosaic work, representing St. Peter and St. Paul, is said to be eight hundred years old.” At the church of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, “the mosaic work on the arched roof is of so old a date as the time of Leo the Great; and, according to the following inscription near it, was probably done at the expense of Placidia, sister to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius;

“Placidia pia mens operis decus hoc faciebat,

“Suadet pontificis studio splendere Leonis.”

Keyser's Travels, ii. 260, 274, 275, 262, 246.

“The

"The church of St. Urbano alla Caffarella was a temple of Bacchus, and graceful indeed are its remains. It is built of brick, with strength and solidity. The *mosaic* in the arched roof, and between the double row of pillars, is finely done. Here," because in a temple of Bacchus, because a temple dedicated to the encouragement of drunkenness as an indulgence, to the exaltation of drunkenness as a virtue, to the worship of drunkenness as a very deity, are representations of the vintage through all its progress; the wine-press is particularly worth observing. The different figures of birds, large as life, are elegantly executed; and the pheasants, superior to the others." (Mrs. Miller, iii. 50.)

CHAPTER FOURTH.

SECTION I.

THE name of SAINT GERMAN is associated with the history of our Cornish church; not merely by the casual connexion of his being the denominating saint of it; but as that traditional history says, which often so usefully supplies the defects of written records, from his actual residence in the parish, from the personal view of his holiness, and from the remembered utility of his visit. He came into Britain at the solicitation of the British clergy, to unite with them in repelling a heresy, which was spreading over the island, and was denominated Pelagianism from its founder. This was that proud heresy which has frequently appeared since in the Western church; though it has never produced again such a solicitation, and such a mission, as this. The children of the world, grown too wise, forsooth! to perplex their understandings, generally, about errors in theology, and very ignorant concerning their quality, their importance, or their obliquity; in the conceitedness of their ignorance, stare at the mention of such bustle about such an object. Just so, a peasant of the Hampshire coast is said to have stared with surprise, at the bonfires made by the Isle of Wight, on the restoration of monarchy in 1660; to have passed over to the isle with the amazement of curiosity, in order to inquire the cause; and, on being told that the king was come back, to have asked, with equal astonishment of mind and fatuity of face, where he had been then. But, what aggravates the ridiculousness of this rising spirit, these sons of earth instantly turn to objects infinitely trifling in themselves; agitate their minds, and harass their spirits, in chasing the straws, the chaff, or the gossamere, that are perpetually floating in the world of politics; just as if the peasant, who wondered at bonfires made for a restoration of church and state, should instantly, on his

1

his coming back, have kindled those bonfires himself, which peasants do in many counties, for a blessing upon his apples, or for a return of summer. Pelagianism was a heresy that did not presume to deny the fact of the fall of man, but was unwilling to allow the legitimate consequences of it. Pelagianism asserted man, though fallen, still to retain in himself that independent power of becoming religious, which he certainly possessed before his fall; not to need, therefore, that supernal aid which the code of revelation denominates the grace of God, and which our own feelings tell us is requisite to come in as auxiliary to a reason, once competent to the office of directing man, but now debilitated in all her commanding energies, by the predominance of passion*. This heresy, which flattered man with a faculty that he once had, and so raised him in fancy above the principal humiliation of his fall, was addressed directly to his pride, thus reared itself (like the serpent before the fall) haughtily upon its own spires, and (like that serpent again) succeeded in seducing the understanding of man. In vain did Scripture, in vain did experience, oppose their united voice to the delusion. It spread wildly through the island; the more wildly, perhaps, because Pelagius, who has lent his name to the heresy, was a Briton by birth; so that the clergy of Britain, still faithful to their great trust, were compelled to call in foreign auxiliaries to their assistance†.

“An.

* Usher, 170.

† That he was a Briton, is plain from St. Austin; “Pelagium—credimus, ut ab illo distingueretur qui Pelagius Tarenti dicitur, *Britonem* fuisse cognominatum;” from Prosper, in his Chronicon, “Pelagius *Brito* dogma nominis sui—exerit;” from Prosper again de Ingrat. cap. i. and 34,

“Pestifero vomuit coluber sermone *Britannus*,

And “I procul insana impietas, artesque malignas

“Aufer, et authorem comitare exclusa *Britannum*.—Usher, 111, 112.

But that he was denominated *Morgan* in his native language of Britain, as he is seemingly believed by Usher, 112, and boldly pronounced by every scribbler of history, is all a wild dream of sagacity on the scent for imaginary likenesses. Even if *Morgan* could ever be allowed to mean, what without great violence it cannot, the same as *Marigena* in Latin; yet the *natural* import of it is very different, it being merely the inverse of *Can-mor*, and therefore, with *Can-mor*, signifying great head. But every Briton had not a British name, after the Romans came; as we have seen Eugenius Cæsarius with Ambrosius Aurelianus before, and

“An embassy directed out of Britain,” says an author so nearly contemporary with the facts specified by him, that the memory of Germanus was yet fresh in the mouths of all, and several still survived who had seen him alive ‡, “announced to the bishops of France that the Pelagian perverseness had infected the flocks widely in their districts, and that the Catholic faith ought to be very expeditiously supported. Upon this account a large synod was convened; and, by the judgment of all, two glorious luminaries of religion, those apostolic priests *Germanus* and *Lupus*, who inhabited the earth bodily, but dwelt in heaven spiritually, are universally solicited and besought to go into Britain: and the more pressing the necessity appeared, the more promptly did these heroes in devoutness undertake the business; the keenness of their faith outrunning the celerity required by this§.” They accordingly landed in Britain during the year 429*; *Lupus*, says his ancient and particular biographer, “having then been two years” only “bishop of Troyes,” in Champagne, as being very young in comparison with his colleague, yet “powerful in understanding, celebrated for eloquence, eminent for holiness,” and coming with “Saint German,” who had then been long bishop of Auxerre, adjoining in Burgundy, and was “a man

and shall see Constantine with others hereafter. The British Pelagius was so called, assuredly, as the Pelagius of Tarentum was by the Greeks, with whom he lived as a native of the sea-coast; and so called at the very period in which he was admitted a monk at Jerusalem. (Usher, 113, for his being a monk, and 135, for “Pelagius—Hierosolymis constitutus.”)

‡ Usher, 175, 176: “Cum per ora cunctorum sancti recens adhuc spiraret memoria, pluresque qui eum degentem in seculo viderant superessent’.”

§ Usher, 176: “Ex Britannia directa legatio Gallicanis episcopis nunciavit, Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis late populos accepisse, et quamprimum fidei Catholicæ debere succurri. Ob quam causam synodus numerosa collecta est; omniumque judicio, duo preclara religionis lumina universorum precibus ambiuntur, Germanus et Lupus apostolici sacerdotes, terram corporibus cælum *meritis* possidentes. Et quanto laboriosior necessitas apparebat, tanto eam promptius heroes devotissimi susceperunt; celeritatem negotii fidei stimulis maturantes’.” In this passage Usher reads “meritis’,” and notes on the margin, “*mentibus* Baron. male;” when the justness of Baronius’s reading is apparent of itself, and is confirmed by this passage in Huntingdon, 194, “Beda semper *mente* inhabitata, cœli conscendit palatia.”

* Usher, 175.

“ *replete with all perfection and spiritual grace*; while both were united
“ with one spirit, and co-operated with one zeal†.”

Then, as Constantius, the nearly cotemporary historian of Germanus, goes on, “ these apostolic priests quickly filled the island with their conversations, with their preachings, with their virtues: and when they were daily surrounded with flocking crowds, the word of God was disseminated, not only in the churches, but also through the streets of the towns, through the lanes and villages of the country, through the wilds and mountains; so that the faithful Christians were established every-where, and the perverted recognised the truth under their correcting tongues‡. There was in them, as in the apostles, a glory and an authority derived from conscience, a power of teaching from their literature, a lustre of virtue from their merits, and an additional honour sat upon preachers so great, from their assertion of the truth§. The whole country, therefore, passed readily over to their sentiments. The preachers of the sinister persuasion lay lurking in secret, and, like the malignant spirit, lamented the loss of the crowds escaping from them*. At last, after long meditation, they presume to engage in conflict. They come forward, ostentatiously shewing their wealth by the splendour of their dress, surrounded by many flatterers; and choose to run the risk of an encounter, rather than incur from the people whom they had perverted, the reproach of not replying, lest they should seem to stand self-condemned by their

† Usher, 176: “ ‘Exacto biennii spatio, cùm esset [Lupus] pollens ingenio, clarus eloquio, sanctitate præcipuus, cum S. Germano totius perfectionis et gratiæ spiritualis pleno, —uno spiritu juncti, et pari voluntate concordēs.’ ”

‡ Usher, 176: “ ‘Britanniarum insulam—raptim opinione, prædicatione, virtutibus impleverunt. Et cùm quotidie irruente frequentia stiparentur, divinus sermo non solùm in ecclesiis, verùm etiam per trivium, per rura, per devia diffundebatur; ut passim et fideles Catholici firmarentur, et depravati viam correctionis agnoscerent.’ ”

§ Usher, 176: “ ‘Erat in illis, apostolorum instar, et gloria et autoritas per conscientiam, doctrina per literas, virtutes ex meritis; accedebat prætereà a tantis auctoribus assertio veritatis.’ ”

* Usher, 176: “ ‘Itaque regionis universitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat. Latebant abditæ sinistræ persuasionis authores, et, more maligni spiritûs, gemebant perire sibi populos evadentes.’ ”

“ silence.

“ silence*. A multitude of men, apparently immense, was collected
 “ at the place; excited by the report, and bringing even their wives,
 “ their children, with them †. The people were present, in order to be
 “ spectators and judges ‡. The parties stood forward, discriminated by
 “ the difference of their condition: here was divine authority, there hu-
 “ man presumption; here belief, there unbelief; here Christ, there
 “ Pelagius, for the preacher §. Those most blessed priests gave their ad-
 “ versaries the first liberty of speaking; which they took, in engaging
 “ the time and the ears of the audience, long but emptily, with mere
 “ naked words ||. Then the venerable prelates poured forth the tor-
 “ rents of their own eloquence, with the thunders of the apostles and
 “ the evangelists ¶. Their own words were mixed with the word of
 “ God, and their strongest assertions were followed by the testimonies of
 “ Scripture **. Vanity is confuted, unbelief is convicted; so that, by their in-
 “ ability to reply, they pleaded guilty to every objection. The arbitrating
 “ crowds can scarce withhold their hands, but testify their opinions by
 “ their acclamations ††.” This conference appears very clearly from tradi-
 tion, to have been held in the most celebrated of all our ancient towns; that

* Usher, 176: “ ‘ Ad extremum, diuturnâ meditatione conceptâ præsument inire con-
 “ flictum. Procedunt conspicui divitiis, veste fulgentes, circumdati assentatione multorum;
 “ contentionisque subire aleam maluerunt, quàm in populo quem subverterant pudorem
 “ taciturnitatis incurrere; ne viderentur se ipsi silentio damnavisse’.”

† Usher, 176: “ ‘ Illic planè immensa multitudinis numerositas, etiam cum conjugibus
 “ ac liberis, excita convenerat’.”

‡ Usher, 176: “ ‘ Aderat populus, spectator futurus et iudex’.”

§ Usher, 176: “ ‘ Adstabant partes, dispari conditione dissimiles: hinc divina auctori-
 “ tas, inde humana præsumptio; hinc fides, inde perfidia; hinc Christus, inde Pelagius,
 “ auctor’.”

|| Usher, 176: “ ‘ Primo in loco, beatissimi sacerdotes præbuerunt adversariis copiam
 “ disputandi; quæ, solâ nuditate verborum, diu inaniter et aures occupavit et tempora’.”

¶ Usher, 176: “ ‘ Deinde antistites venerandi torrentes eloquii sui, cum apostolicis et
 “ evangelicis tonitribus profuderunt’.”

** Usher, 176: “ ‘ Miscebatur sermo proprius cum divino, et assertiones violentissimas
 “ lectionum testimonia sequebantur’.”

†† Usher, 176: “ ‘ Convincitur vanitas, perfidia confutatur; ita ut ad singulas verborum
 “ objectiones reos se, dum respondere nequeunt, faterentur. Populus arbiter vix manus con-
 “ tinet; iudicium cum clamore testatur’.”

Verulam, which now exhibits only some shadowy appearances of its former existence; but amidst them presents the ruins of a chapel, constructed on the very ground *upon which Germanus stood when he spoke at the conference*, and still retaining his name*. So much did Germanus eclipse his associate, by the splendour of his reputation, and so thoroughly was the whole success attributed to Germanus!

The work which had carried him and his associate into Britain being thus executed, they returned to the continent. Yet Germanus was soon called upon a second time. "News is brought out of Britain," adds Constantius, "that the Pelagian perverseness is again diffused by a few preachers. The supplications of all are once more conveyed to this most blessed man, that he would come to *secure* the cause of God, which he had formerly won. With this petition he hastily complies, being delighted with the labour, and willingly spending himself for Christ†." Lupus did not accompany him, though he was still alive, and even survived Germanus thirty years‡. But Germanus was accompanied by one who was Lupus's scholar, Severus, "a man of all sanctity," as Constantius describes him; "who, being then consecrated bishop of Treves, was preaching the word of life to the inhabitants of Germania Prima§." This second expedition was performed in 447 ||. "In the mean time," as Constantius proceeds, "the wicked spirits, flying through the whole island, with unwilling prophecies, announced the coming of Germanus; so much that Elaphius, a certain chief of the region, hastened to meet the saints without any information from a visible messenger¶. The whole province follows him;

* Usher, 176.

† Usher, 205: "Interea ex Britanniiis nunciatur, Pelagianam perversitatem iteratò, paucis auctoribus, dilatari. Rursusque ad beatissimum virum preces omnium deferuntur, ut causam Dei, quam priùs obtinuerat tutaretur. Quorum petitioni festinus occurrit, dum et laboribus delectatur et Christo se gratanter impendit'."

‡ Usher, 205.

§ Usher, 205: "'Totius sanctitatis vir, qui tunc Treveris ordinatus episcopus, gentibus Primæ Germaniæ verbum vitæ prædicabat'."

|| Usher, 204.

¶ Usher, 205: "'Interea sinistri spiritus, pervolantes per totam insulam, Germanum venire

“ him; the priests come; the multitude meets them, without any previous intelligence; immediately *those* pour out a benediction upon *these*, and preach the word of God to them*. Germanus finds the people continuing in that belief, in which he had left them. He and his associate understood the fault to be that of a few; seek out the preachers, find, and condemn them†.—They then turn to the people, preaching to them the necessity of correcting prevarication. The preachers of the depraved doctrine, therefore, being banished from the island by the sentence of all, are brought to these priests to be transported by them into the regions in the Mediterranean; that the country may be absolved, and the offenders be reformed‡. This was done so very usefully, that even now,” about forty years afterward§, “ the faith remains unpolluted in those parts ||.” But this second conference, like the first, was held at Verulam, assuredly; as there, and there only, is any tradition or any monument of Germanus’s preaching.

In these two expeditions into Britain, which were better than the military which so loudly fill the trump of history, as directed to higher objects, and as terminating in grander circumstances; how much farther than Verulam, that farthest reach of Cæsar’s expeditions, did Germanus penetrate into the island? Constantius carries him expressly to Verulam¶, and, in Usher’s opinion, into North-Wales**. Nennius, or

“ venire invitis vaticinationibus nunciabant; in tantum, ut Elaphius, quidam regionis illius primus, in occursum sanctorum sine ullâ manifesti nuncii relatione properaverit.”

* Usher, 205: “ ‘ Hunc Elaphium provincia tota subsequitur, veniunt sacerdotes, occurrunt inscia multitudo; confestim benedictio, et sermonis divini doctrina, profunditur.’ ”

† Usher, 205: “ ‘ Recognoscit populum in eâ quam reliquerat credulitate durantem.

“ Intelligunt culpam esse paucorum, inquirunt auctores, inventosque condemnant.’ ”

‡ Usher, 205: “ ‘ Prædicatio deinde ad plebem, de prævaricationis emendatione, convertitur; omniumque sententiâ pravitatis auctores expulsi ab insulâ, sacerdotibus adducuntur, ad Mediterranea deferendi; ut et regio absolutione, et illi emendatione, fruerentur.’ ”

§ Usher, 205.

|| Usher, 205: “ ‘ Quod in tantum salubriter factum est, ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret.’ ”

¶ Usher, 176, 177.

** See a dissertation in Appendix to the present work, No. III. upon a piece of history, in which folly and falsehood have united to dress up this apostolic bishop as a warrior.

his

his enlarger, states him positively to have gone into "the region of the "Povisi," or Powis-land, at one time; to have been in "the region "which is called Guenedh," or North-Wales, at another; and to have gone at a third "to the region of the Dimetæ," or South-Wales, "upon the river Teibi*." The tradition at St. German's, too, concurs with all, to bring him into Cornwall, and to fix him as a visitor in our parish. "During his stay here [in Britain] this [second] "time," says Mr. Willis, concerning the parish, "he is likewise RE-
"PORTED TO HAVE VISITED THESE PARTS" of Cornwall, "and TAKEN UP
"HIS RESIDENCE IN THIS PLACE; of which THE INHABITANTS RETAIN
"SEVERAL STORIES†." All, indeed, is corroborated by another tradition in the adjoining parish of Rame, which forms the western point of Plymouth sound, in its denominating promontory the Ram-head, and of which the very church is dedicated to his memory still; that at Rame he departed out of Cornwall, thence (as the gigantic language of romance speaks) striding across the channel, and (as the history veiled in this mist of romance intimates) taking his departure for the continent, at the mouth of Plymouth sound §.

* Nennius, c. xxxv. p. 107; Gale, i. : "Omnis regio Povisorum" (see Pennant's Tour in North-Wales, ii. 212, for the extent of Powis-land), and Usher, 206, on c. xlv.; c. xlv. p. 110: "Usque ad regionem quæ vocatur *Guennesi*" (or *Guenedi*, as we have in p. 116, "regione Guenedotæ," and "Guondotæ regionis," in c. xl. "illam regionem quæ vocatur "Guoienit," marked by the "montibus Heriri," or Snowdon, and denominated expressly "Wynez," by an ancient bard in Owen's Dictionary, 1793, under *Brodawr*; "Guenez," too, by Lhuyd, in his *Archæologia*, 223), and "Cair-Guorthigirn," with Camden, 478, 479; Gibson, 700, 701; Pennant, ii. 213; Gough, ii. 465, 466; c. xlix. "in regione "Dimetorum juxta flumen Teibi," and Usher, 206, 207.

† Willis, 141.

§ Usher, in 184, cites an old Life of St. Brioc, that saint who has given name to a parish in Cornwall first noticed in the last Valor, St. Breoke, near Wadebridge; for this saint being "e provinciâ Corticianâ, nobili editus stirpe, a sancto Germano Autissiodorensi, fidem "ibi disseminante orthodoxam, in Galliam abductus," where he has given name to St. Brieu, on the northern coast of Bretagne. This province Usher thinks, with Camden, to be the county of Cork in Ireland (p. 165). But Carte, i. 185, very judiciously objects, that St. German never disseminated orthodoxy in *Ireland*, and so *could* not carry St. Brioc from *Cork*. He therefore interprets the region to be Cardiganshire; a county which unites with all the notices here, and was actually called *Ceretica* at this period. Paternus, says Camden him-

SECTION II.

For what purpose he penetrated thus into the island, the whole tenour of the history evinces decisively : yet, to the astonishment of all who can think as well as read, the very writer of the history has at *one* time represented the object to be very different from what it appears to be at *all other* times, upon the face of his own narrative. Two expeditions, calculated solely and exclusively for recalling the established Christianity of Roman Britain from an error in opinion, against which the established clergy of the country were struggling ineffectually with their own powers, are made in *one* of them, and at *one* part of Roman Britain, to terminate in a conversion of the inhabitants from Heathenism to Christianity, and a general initiation of Pagans by baptism into the church of Christ *. This is so apparently false in itself, so directly opposite to the course and current of his own facts, yea so violently borne down by the whole weight of general history, that it is amazing to think how any man with half a dozen ideas could be capable of such a gross contradiction ; and that it is astonishing to find, how many have been induced to adopt

self, p. 518, "*Cereticorum* (ut habet ejus vita) ecclesiam et pascendo rexit et regendo "pavit;" the see being fixed at Llan Badern Vawr in Cardiganshire. See also Usher, 253, 275, 439 ; and Leland's Itin. viii. 54, for *Ceretia*.

In Nennius, c. xlv. : "Guorthemir,—in synodo habitâ apud *Guartherniaun*,—ad pedes "ejus sancti [Germani] cecidit veniam postulans ; atque pro illatâ a patre suo—Sancto "Germano calumniâ, terram ipsam, in quâ prædictus episcopus obprobrium tale sustinuit, "in æternum suam fieri sanxivit. Unde et in memoriam Sancti Germani *Guarenniaun* ;" or, as the name is written before, and as it therefore should be written here, *Guartherniaun*, "nomen accepit, quod Latinè sonat Calumnia justè retorta ;" *Gwarth* (Welsh) signifying reproach, scandal, and the other word being, not (as Lhuyd in Gibson, c. 701, interprets it) *Eniaun* just, because I know of no such word, and, if I did, it would not answer the idea, a just reproach being indeed the very opposite of a reproach justly retorted ; but *Erniw*, *Ernywiant*, meaning the same then as *Dieniwo* now does, to save harmless, to indemnify. We find accordingly "in hâc eâdem provinciâ de *Warthrenion*" near Radnor, "ecclesia— "Sancti Germani." (Giraldus's Itin. Cambriæ, 821.) "Necdum nomen intercidit—, sunt "enim qui existimant *Guthrenion* castrum ex ejus ruderibus extitisse," rather to have been the very same, "quod anno MCCI Walli—solo complanârunt." (Camden, 479.)

* See No. III. in my Appendix.

his contradiction in repugnance to his history, to take the Roman Britons for Pagans while they actually professed Christianity, actually had a clergy, actually had this clergy using every endeavour to preserve them from Pelagianism. But the world of letters is composed principally of men, that read, that write, yet never think. Amongst these I am obliged to particularize Dr. Borlase, not indeed as seduced directly by Constantius, for he seems to know nothing about him; but as acting under the influence of the general seduction, as strengthening that influence by some secret propensities within, and as from both representing the CORNISH at this period, in a state of absolute heathenism. “In the remote corners of the island,” he cries, “druidism had taken deep root,” as it had equally taken in the interiors of the island, as indeed all religions established for such a number of ages must necessarily take in both, “and it would not give way to weak efforts: hence it is, that after the Roman empire, and much the greatest part of [Roman] Britain, had been Christian, we find *many martyrs suffering death in Cornwall, for the Christian faith*; and hence it is” also, “that in the *latter end of the fourth, during all the fifth, and most part of the sixth centuries, we find so many holy men employed to convert the Cornish to the Christian religion* †.” This is all as much a mistake in reasoning and in facts, as Constantius’s is an error in consistency and common sense. Nor let us disdain to prove it is.

Only I would first observe, that Dr. Borlase, who finds druidism taking such a deep root, and laying such a vigorous hold, in and upon the soil of Cornwall, finds the same druidism very feeble in its hold, and very shallow in its root, upon the ground of Paris in France. Within the cathedral of Notre Dame there, as the earth was broken up in the month of March 1711, to form a sepulchral vault for the archbishops of Paris; a heathen altar was discovered at some depth, consisting of four stones, of which each had four faces. The first stone had this inscription upon one face, TIB CAESARI AUG JOVI OPTUM MAXSUMO WP NAUTAE PARISIAC UBLICE POSIERUNT; but also had grouped figures of men armed with helmets, spears, and shields, on the other three faces; with these words

† Borlase, 368.

overhead on the third and fourth, *Eurise Senani Velo*. The second and third stones had simple figures with inscriptions over them, as *Volcanus*, *Jovis*, *Esus*, *Castor*, *Cirunnos*, &c. And the fourth, upon each face, had grouped figures pretty similar to those on the first. All this therefore, as good sense, unvitiated by erudition, would instantly pronounce, indicates the altar to have been erected by the boatmen of Paris, and the grouped figures to be the very boatmen themselves, marching in solemn procession with military array to that Pantheon kind of temple which they had contributed to build on the present site of the cathedral, and to that Pantheon kind of altar which they had united to erect within it. But Dr. Borlase's Celtic genius spurns at such low ideas, and his druidical fancy mounts up to the clouds at once. He considers the grouped figures to be *all Druids*, departing under the proscription of the emperor Tiberius, and in full march for some happier clime with all the symbols of druidism in their hands. He thus contradicts the very inscription *referring all to the boatmen*, and *proves* the departure of druidism from Gaule by a monument *actually charged with druidical deities*. This is the very frenzy of antiquarianism. But, what aggravates this moodiness of mind in the Doctor, he shews the druidical heathenism of the Gauls, yielding readily to the equally irrational heathenism of the Romans, flying at once before the frown of the profligate Tiberius, and tremulously retiring to the mountains of Cornwall, of Mona, or of the moon; while he describes the druidism of Cornwall, as another religion in itself, or actuated by another soul, as struggling even against Christianity, victoriously resisting the preachings of its clergy with the lives of its professors, even resisting all the thunder of its miracles, and all the lightning of its doctrines, for many ages. The opposition between these two accounts is glaringly great, and of itself proves one of them to be absolutely false. They are both false, indeed. The Gallic druidism did not so tremble or so fly, as the Doctor surmises from his wild misrepresentation of the altar, the very altar itself shewing the direct contrary; nor was the Cornish so sullenly obstinate, as the Doctor avers, as I deny, and as I now proceed to deny in full form*.

For

* Montfaucon, ii. pt. 2. v. 4. He thinks the WP to be the last letter of *aram*; but I think it to be *mp* in a complication, and to mean *temp.* for *templum*. Borlase, 153, sees "*plain signs*

For this purpose I shall not recite such authorities, as shew individual Britons to have been converted to the Gospel, but such as prove the Gospel to have been received in those Roman provinces of Britain, of which Cornwall was an integral part. Origen, who wrote before the middle of the *third* century, intimates “very many” of the BRITONS, Germans, Daci, Sarmatæ, or Scythæ, to have *not* heard *then* the word of

“of the Druids giving way to the imperial edict,” turns the spear of one into a “virga divinatoria perhaps,” of a second into a “torch—, a symbol of their holy fires,” and the shield of each into “an octangular kind of plate,” “rather some musical instrument of the bards, or, perhaps, some tablet on which they were used to cast their—lots in divination;” making a young man “perhaps—a Druidess;” giving to an old man “the magic circle, of which—the Druids were extremely fond,” when it is only the hoop of such a round coracle probably, as is still used upon the Severn; and placing upon the head of another “the appearance of a diadem,” instead of a helmet. Never did systematic prejudice luxuriate in richer folly, than it here does.—But let me in addition explain, what neither Borlase nor Montfaucon have pretended to understand; the words over the third and fourth faces of the first stone. EVRISE, as the word is exhibited by Montfaucon, who professes to have taken all necessary care for having the drawings made as accurate as possible, and not IVRTSE, as Borlase exhibits it, is merely the same word in Gaulish as *Eburovice*, now *Eureux*, and signifies WATERMEN. Then SENANI, as in Montfaucon again, not ENANI, as in Borlase, the same word with *Senus* or *Shannon*, the name of a river in Ireland, imports the *Sequana* or *SEINE*, the river of Paris. And VELO, as Montfaucon’s plate represents the word, not VEILO, as Borlase’s does, is the god *BELUS* of the Gauls, answering here to the *Jupiter* of the Latin inscription, and the same with that *Beal* or *Beil*, whose feast is kept, and whose fires are lighted, on the first of May in Ireland to the present period. The words, therefore, present a very fair meaning. This is the first point to be secured, in interpreting an inscription. They also say in Gaulish, exactly what the others say in Latin; that “the watermen of the Seine,” the very “*nautæ Parisiaci*” before, then called at Paris as we now call our boatmen at London *watermen*, “built this temple to *Belus*,” a name, says Montfaucon himself, used for Jupiter, for Saturn, for the Sun, and for almost all the deities (i. pt. 2d, 4. 2), but here used in the truest propriety for Jupiter alone. This coincidence of the Gaulish inscription with the Roman, decisively proves the justness of my interpretation. And the *V* is so frequently substituted for the *B*, even in the Latin language, that we can be no more surprised at *Velo* for *Belo*, than at *Vene* for *Bene*, *Libertus* for *Libertus*, and *Incomparabilis* for *Incomparabilis*. “The Greeks and Spaniards often pronounce the *B*, we find, as a *V* consonant, and the Britons—used formerly no other than *B* or *M*, as neither doe the Irish at this day: the *F* of the modern Welsh was anciently expressed by *B* or *M*, and is still so by the Irish, as W. *Afal*, Ir. *Ubhal*, an apple.” (Lhuyd, 21, Comparative Etymology.)

the

the Gospel, as “very many” of the Britons were Picts; but *most* to have heard, as all the provincials, and among them therefore the Cornish of course, actually had. “When did THE LAND OF BRITAIN,” he then asks triumphantly, “ever AGREE in the religion of one God *before* the coming of Christ †?” All this is as clear as it is important. Yet Tertullian, who wrote near half a century *previous* to Origen, corroborates his meaning very strongly, fixes it very pointedly just as I have fixed it, and even adds very greatly to the import of it; telling us, that “the parts of Britain, which were *inaccessible* to the Romans,” the regions of the Picts, “were SUBDUED TO CHRIST ‡.” This passage, with every deduction that may be made for the natural exaggerations of oratory like Tertullian’s, brief, brisk, and brilliant, shews the *south* of Britain to have had *multitudes* of Christians within it, as even the *north* had *numbers*; and *Cornwall* to have certainly received “the golden day” of the Gospel deep into its bosom, when even *Caledonia* itself had. Accordingly, on the elevation of Christianity with Constantine to the imperial throne, as our own countryman Gildas informs us, “all the pupils of Christ in Britain, “after a long but wintry night, with joyful eyes receive the temperate “serene light of the air of heaven; rebuild the churches that were torn “down to the very ground; lay the foundations of large churches, in “honour of the holy martyrs; rear them, finish them, and every where “display (as it were) their victorious standards; celebrating the feasts” of the church, “performing the sacred rites” of it, “yea all rejoicing “as sons fostered in the bosom of their mother the church §.” What these

† Usher, 74, from Tractatus 28 in Matthæum: “‘Quid dicamus de Britannis aut Germanis, qui sunt circa oceanum, vel apud barbaros Dacos, et Sarmatas, et Scythas? quorum plurimi nondum audierunt Evangelii verbum?—Quando—terra Britanniae, ante adventum Christi, in unius Dei consensit religionem?’” I cite Usher for these and other passages, because he has judiciously brought them forward, and because Dr. Borlase, in his coming references to Usher, ought to have considered these extracts in him. Decisive in themselves, they are doubly decisive against Dr. Borlase.

‡ Usher, 75, from Tertull. lib. advers. Judæos, cap. 7: “‘Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita.’”

§ Usher, 103, from Gildas, c. viii.: “‘Lætis luminibus omnes Christi tyrones, quasi post hyemalem ac prolixam noctem, temperiem lucemque serenam auræ cœlestis excipiunt; “renovant

these churches were we know, because we know who were the martyrs, even Albanus of Verulam, Aaron and Julius of Caerleon ||; two of them apparently Romans in their names, one of them apparently named when he was baptized, and all three assuredly Romans from their residence at Caerleon or Verulam. We actually know three churches to have been very early erected, in honour of these three martyrs ¶. Bede attests one of them to have been really erected at this period *; and Gildas equally attests all to have been so †. Thus widely had our religion spread itself over the provinces of Britain, not confining its operations to the south-eastern parts of the island, but diffusing its strength, propagating its influence, and generating martyrs, in Wales as well as Hertfordshire or Middlesex, in that *Britannia Prima* which included Cornwall within it, even in that *Britannia Secunda* which comprehended all Wales; before it tired out the Herculean arm that was grappling with it, and rose with renewed vigour from every throw to the ground! Thus generally was it then professed, were its churches erected, its martyrs honoured, its festivals observed, and its rites administered; all over the country, from the Clyde into Kent, from the Forth into Cornwall! But we particularly find its usual polity established, in its primitive institution of bishops. This we have seen in part already. But at the council of Arles in 314, we see

“renovant ecclesias, ad solum usque destructas; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant,
 “construunt, perficiunt, ac velut victricia signa passim propalant; dies festos celebrant;
 “sacra mundo corde oreque conficiunt; omnes exultant filii, gremio ac si matris ecclesiæ
 “confoti.”

|| Usher, 89.

¶ Usher, 90, from Giraldus Cambrensis Itin. Cambriæ, i. 5: “‘Egregiæ in hac urbe,’
 Caerleon, “*antiquis temporibus fuerunt ecclesiæ; una Julii martyris—, altera verò Beati*
 “*Aaron socii ejusdem nomine fundata*.”

* Usher, 104, from Bede, i. 7: “‘Redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate, ecclesia
 “mirandi operis, atque ejus martyrio condigna, exstructa’,” at St. Alban’s near Verulam.

† Gildas, c. viii.: “Clarissimas lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit, *quorum*
 “*nunc corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca*, si non lugubri divortione barbarorum—civi-
 “bus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinæ charitatis incute-
 “rent; *Sanctum Albanum Verolamensem, Aaron et Julium Legionum urbis cives,—dico.*”
 Gildas uses the plural number, for the churches of the martyrs taken from the Britons; but appears from the very course of the history, to mean only one, St. Alban’s. Caerleon was not taken till many ages afterward.

assembled with the other bishops, no less than THREE FROM BRITAIN; and we know the very cities, which were the capitals of their sees. One of these prelates was, “Eborius the bishop of the city of York, in the province of Britain;” another, “Restitutus the bishop of the city of London, in the province above-mentioned;” and the third, “Adelfius the bishop of *the colony of Londoners*,” that is, of Richborough in Kent, then the colony of those soldiers of the second Augustan legion, who had been transplanted from London †. We here find the church of Britain settled in all that plenitude of polity, in which the church of England appears at present; every province of Britain having its prelate, every civil metropolis being formed equally into a spiritual one, York standing as the see of Maxima, London presiding over Flavia, but Richborough reaching out her episcopal sceptre, from the South-Foreland and the Thames-mouth to Cornwall and her western isles. At the peculiarly necessary council of Nice in 325, at the council of Sardica in 347, at the council of Ariminum in 359; the bishops of Britain we know in general to have been equally present §. But let us particularly remember that very curious article of intelligence, which Gildas has given us of the first introduction of Arianism into this island; intelligence which (like the account of Pelagianism before) proves Christianity to have previously flourished much within it. “This pleasing union of Christ the head and of the members,” says the historian, “continued” in Britain “till THE ARIAN UNBELIEF, like a fierce serpent, vomiting its *transmarine* poisons upon us, destructively separated brethren who were in unity before ||;” or, as Bede repeats from him in a somewhat different tone

† Usher, 104, from tom. i. Concilior. Galliæ, edit. Paris. an. 1629, pag. 9: “Eborius, episcopus de civitate Eboracensi, in provinciâ Britannîâ; Restitutus, episcopus de civitate Londonensi, provinciâ supra scriptâ; Adelfius, episcopus de coloniâ Londinensium:” and Hist. of Manchester, ii. 192-195, octavo.

§ Usher, 105, 106.

|| Usher, 106, from Gildas, c. xix.: “Mansit hæc Christi capitis membrorumque consonantia suavis, donec Arriana perfidia, atrox ceu anguis, transmarina nobis evomens venena, fratres in unum habitantes exitiabilè faceret sejungi.” In my Origin of Arianism, 451, I translated the words “Arriana perfidia” literally; but have been now taught by the language of Constantius before, to see they mean not *perfidy* but *unbelief*.

of voice, though exactly with the same combination of ideas, “this peace continued among the churches of Christ that were in Britain, even to the times of THE ARIAN MADNESS, which, when it had corrupted the whole world, infected even this island so much sequestered from the world, with the venom of its error ¶.” In so pointed a manner did the believing world of Christians formerly reprobate that “sort of half-way house” to absolute infidelity, as Arianism is most characteristically called by a writer; who, with a spirit of religion, warm yet just, rational yet scriptural, affectionate yet judicious, manly, bold, and bright, has lately addressed the nation upon the declining state of Christianity among us, and entitled himself to the applause of every friend to religion in the isle*! In so pointed a manner did particularly the Christian Saxons, the Christian Britons, reprobate it! But the council of Nice interposed to crush, and actually crushed for thirteen hundred years, this most impertinent of all impertinent heresies; which presumes to think, that even the inspired writers of the Scripture, either did not understand the nature of God so well as the Arians do, or did not express it so properly as the Arians could have done; which is therefore engaged in a perpetual warfare with the words or the ideas of Scripture, by remarks repugnant to every principle of common sense in criticism to fritter away their meaning, by new modes of punctuation to make them speak nonsense rather than their obvious sense, or, when both these frauds fail, violently to eject whole sentences out of the Scripture; is thus labouring, with a little of the insolence of the ancient giants, and with much of the impotence of the ancient pigmies, to pile hillock upon hillock, to heap mole-hill upon mole-hill, in a petty sort of hostility against Heaven. But this Arianism of our British fathers demonstrates the establishment of

¶ Usher, 106, from Bede Hist. i. viii.: “‘Mansit—hæc in ecclesiis Christi quæ erant in Britannia pax, usque ad tempora Arrianæ vesaniæ; quæ, corrupto orbe toto, hanc etiam insulam, extra orbem tam longè remotam, veneno sui infecit erroris’.”

* Mr. Wilberforce, in his Practical View of the prevailing religious System of professed Christians, p. 475, edit. 4th, 1797. In this praise I note not a few faults in the work, resulting from the author’s prejudices of partiality towards the Dissenters. They are lost to my eye, in the lustre of his excellencies.

Christianity

Christianity among *them*; equally as the revived Arianism of our own days demonstrates that establishment among *ourselves* †.

SECTION III.

NOR can the facts alleged by Dr. Borlase be of the slightest weight in the balance against this full and heavy scale of evidence. The FIRST fact alleged is this, “that, *about* the year 411, St. Melor (although son of “Melianus *duke* of Cornwall) suffered martyrdom;” alleged upon the authority of Capgrave, and the testimony of Usher ‡. Let us therefore examine this testimony and that authority. “Philip Ferrars, in his *General Catalogue of Saints*,” says Usher concerning St. Melor, at the *third of January* calls him *Melior*; and notes him *from John Capgrave*, “to have suffered *in* the year 411; though Capgrave declares him to “have terminated his life by martyrdom, on the *first of October*, in the “*very commencement of Christianity accepted by the Britons* §.” So falsely

† Having here cited the authority of Bede for the first time particularly, and having occasion to cite him very particularly hereafter, I subjoin in this note one remark concerning him. The name of Bede is repeated with applause by every tongue, that speaks of our earlier history. Bede however, let *me* observe, was not merely great as a writer, but, what is infinitely more in itself, was truly good as a man. The trying hour of death shewed him to be so. The particulars of his death are detailed to us by a scholar of his. And the account concludes thus: “Omnes autem qui audiêre vel vidêre beati patris obitum, nunquam se vi-
“disse ullum alium in magnâ devotione ac tranquillitate vitam sic finisse, dicebant; quia,
“sicut audisti, quousque anima in corpore fuit, ‘Gloria Patri,’ et alia quædam cecinit spiri-
“tualia, et expansis manibus Deo vivo et vero gratias agere non cessabat.” (Leland’s Coll. iv. 80; and Simeon Dunelmensis, i. 15, Twisden.)

‡ Borlase, 369.

§ Usher, 241: “*Meliorem* eum appellat Philippus Ferrarius, in *Catalogo Sanctorum generali*, ad diem iii. Januarii; et anno ccccx. passum fuisse ex Johanne Capgravio annotat; quanquam Capgravius calendis Octobris martyrio vitam illum finisse, dicat, in “*ipsis Christianæ fidei a Britannis acceptæ primordiis*.”—“John Capgrave, provincial of “the Augustine friars, and confessor to the famous Humphrey duke of Gloucester, epitomized Tynmouth’s book,” the *Sanctilogium Britannicæ* by John of Tynmouth, yet in manuscript; “adding here and there several fancies and interpolations of his own. It was “translated into English by Caxton, and first printed in the year 1516; since which it has
“been

falsely is Ferrars's Catalogue drawn up, as not to be faithful to the very author that it cites for its facts, to assign them dates very different from what the author assigns, and, in the very moments of reference to him, whirl away his facts from their place to one later by two or three centuries ! So much of the same spirit too has Dr. Borlase imbibed, by keeping company with Ferrars, and by finding he accidentally soothed him in some prepossessions concerning the continuance of druidism here ; that, though he refers to Usher and appeals to Capgrave, yet he minds neither the one nor the other, slights the falsification in Ferrars pointed out by Usher, and, in the very act of appeal to Capgrave, takes up Ferrars's falsification for Capgrave's assertion ! This was done merely, because the falsity was more ductile to some chimæras of the Doctor's own, than the truth would be. He appears, indeed, half-conscious of the fraud that he was putting upon himself and upon his readers. He therefore adopts the date which Ferrars assigned for the martyrdom, with some marks of diffidence ; and dubiously fixes "*about* the year 411," what Ferrars positively places "*in* the year 411." And all forms such a splendid instance of unfaithfulness in the Doctor to the very authorities upon which he professes at the moment to write ; one occurring at the examination of the *very first* fact which he alleges, as should make us examine his other allegations with the strictest severity.

Yet let us not proscribe all at once, what the Doctor has said upon the point ; and think we have for ever annihilated the whole story, as relative to Cornwall in the *fifth* century. The Doctor, who shewed his half-consciousness before in his dubiousness of date, who yet fixes the date in the *fifth* century, as "*about* the year 411 ;" afterwards becomes so much alarmed by his own suspicions, as to *reason* himself into the error, and to *argue* for the correspondency of Capgrave's date with Ferrars's. "Capgrave," he cries out, "says that this happened *soon after* the Britans "*had received the Christian faith ; by which Britans he must mean the* "*been frequently reprinted, both here and beyond the seas, and is common in the families of* "*our gentlemen of the Roman communion.*" (Nicholson's Eng. Hist. Library, ii. 31, edit. 1696.) Yet I have never met with it, and never met with any man who had. I know only, that there is a copy in the Bodleian, No. 1. ii. Tho. Seld. fol. 239.

"*Cornish,*

“*Cornish*, for *the others* had been converted above two hundred years before*.” Dr. Borlase thus argues *from the wrong against the right*; and *from the fact* which should have convinced him of his error, reasons to fix himself more deeply in it. Such is the wild whirl of his ideas at the moment! By some strange disturbance in his judgment, he considers the date which the falsifying Ferrars has attributed to Capgrave, that of the year 411; as Capgrave’s own date, and as irrefragable in itself. On this hollow ground he takes his stand, fixes his engine, and then strains his cords to wrench the *rectilinear* language of Capgrave into all his own or Ferrars’s obliquities. “When in the beginning of the Christian faith,” Capgrave tells us, not confining his remark to Cornwall, not restricting it even to Britain, but making it as broad and general as the universe itself, “the apostolical doctrine was spread into *all nations over the world*, the Gentiles of Britain,” not of Cornwall particularly, but of Britain at large, “were converted to the faith; and many believing in the Lord, and practising the apostolical precepts, shone with various and miraculous virtues; of the number of which we confidently believe the blessed Melor to have been one. For the blessed Melor was of a noble family in Britain, his father being Melian, who possessed the dutchy of Cornwall †.” Dr. Borlase’s attempt therefore to make Capgrave mean the Cornish only, when he speaks in positive terms of “the Gentiles of Britain” at large, is equally violent and simple, betraying such a debility of intellect as would bend to any force of hypothesis, and such a ductility of faith as would ply with any impulse of temptation. But a mind coloured over with the tincture of druidism, and viewing objects through a druidical spectre-glass, beholds all nature under a wonderful transfiguration; views Druids moving in their mystic rounds, within the very churches of Christianity; what is more, sees one

* Borlase, 369.

† Usher, 241: “‘Dum in exordio,’ inquit, ‘Christianæ fidei apostolica doctrina per orbem terrarum in omnibus gentibus diffunderetur, conversa est Britanniae gentilitas ad fidem; et multi Domino credentes, et apostolica præcepta sequentes, variis virtutum miraculis fulserunt; de quorum numero beatum Melorum fidenter credimus extitisse; fuit enim beatus Melorus de nobili Britannorum genere, cujus pater Melianus ducatum Cornubiæ tenuit.’”

small angle of the island, always coming forward to the eye as the whole, and Britain in all her ample dimensions contracted into the narrow nook of Cornwall.

Nor could this saint have ever been supposed to be the son of a *duke* of Cornwall, till Cornwall had been reduced from a royalty to a dukedom; and till it had been reduced so long, that petty antiquaries knew not it had ever been a royalty at all. Then a Capgrave, gleaning the field of history with the borrowed hand of tradition, picked up the story of his birth and of his sufferings very honestly, referred them to their natural place in our history, and only erred with the vulgar in making his father a duke, instead of a king of Cornwall.

So pregnant with folly is this first proof in Dr. Borlase, of martyrs suffering for Christianity in Cornwall during the fifth century; and so totally inapplicable is the whole, to the point intended to be proved by it! But let us grapple with the Doctor, in a still closer contest upon the point; and give him that Cornish hug at once, which, like the wand of the magician,

..... Can unthread the joints,
And crumble all the sinews.

“Melor,” says an ancient history of his life, as extracted by Leland, “was the son of Melian *king* of Cornwall; Haurilla, the daughter of “earl Rivold, and born in Devonshire, was the mother of St. Melor; “Rivold,” the son of the other Rivold and the brother of Haurilla, “became the murderer of his brother” Melian, “and the invader of Cornwall; he *deprived his nephew Melor of one foot and one hand*: Melor “was *bred up in a monastery*—; Melor, *at the suggestion of his uncle* “Ribold, was murdered by his own foster-father Cerealtine*.” Melor therefore was the son, not of a *duke* of Cornwall, as no duke existed there

* Leland's Itin. iii. 194: “Ex Vitâ S. Melori. ‘Melorus, filius Meliani regis Cornubiæ. “Haurilla, comitis Rivoldi filia, in Devoniâ orta, mater S. Melori. Rivoldus, fraticida, et “invasor Cornubiæ, nepotem suum Melorum altero pede et manu alterâ privavit. Melorus “enutritus in cœnobio—. Melorus, consilio Riboldi patrui sui, a nutritio suo, Cerealtino, “occisus est’.”

for ages after Melor, but of a *king*. Nor did he, as Dr. Borlase and his authors agree to intimate, ever suffer martyrdom for Christianity. He died under the hand of that ambition which is so wildly fermenting in the heart of man at times, and now acted the *dæmon* so savagely in this king of Devonshire. Melor's maternal uncle invaded the country of Cornwall, seized the person of Melor's father the king, and murdered him; but was content for the present, with only maiming Melor himself by cutting off one hand and one foot; yet afterwards instigated the very man, who by the customs of Britain was next to Melor's own father in relationship to him, even his foster-father, to murder him. Such a complication of villanies meeting in the murder of Melor, the son of a king, a king himself by the murder of his father, and a Christian as bred up in a monastery; induced the Christians of Cornwall, his and his father's subjects, to consider him as a martyr in their minds, and to rank him as a martyr in their calendars. We have an instance exactly similar in our Saxon history; when Edward, the young and amiable son of Edgar, was in 978 assassinated by the queen his step-mother, to make way for her own son to the throne; and when the whole church of the Saxons united, to register him as a saint, to honour him as a martyr*. But we have a similar incident in a region still nearer to us; the St. Sidwell of Exeter being the daughter of one Benna there about the year 740, and, as such, the heiress of his lands in the eastern suburb of the city; but being murdered, like Edward, by a step-mother for the sake of those lands, being on that account revered for a saint by the Christians of the place, and having a church dedicated to her memory at it, as the scene at once of her life, of her martyrdom, and of her sepulture†. Dr. Borlase there-

* Sax. Chron. and Brompton in Twisden, 873, 874, "Martirem."

† Leland's Itin. iii. 60: "The suburbe, that lyith without the est gate of Excester, is the "biggest of all the suburbes of the towne, and berith the name of S. Sithewelle, where she "was buried, and a chirch dedicate ther to her name." Ibid. ibid. 62: "Ex Vitâ Sanctæ "Sativolæ. 'Benna pater Sativolæ. Sativola nata Exoniæ. Sativola, dolo novercæ, a "Feniseçâ amputato capite occisa, ut suburbana prædia ei præriperet. Fons Sativolæ. "Ecclesia constructa in honorem Sativolæ.'" Cressy, p. 594, from the *Martyrologium*, fixes this incident about the year 740. Worcestre, 91: "Sancta Sativola, virgo canonizata, "jacet in ecclesiâ Sancti Volæ [Sanctivolæ] civitatis Exoniæ ultra pontem [portam] orien- "talem."

fore has been just as much imposed upon by the mere sound of a word, in this first instance of Cornish martyrdom for the Gospel, and in this first proof of Cornish violence against Christianity; as if he had adduced the fact of Sidwell's or Edward's murder, for an equal proof of heathenism in Dorsetshire or Devonshire, and had urged it as an instance of a *Saxon* martyrdom for the Gospel.

We see this principle of canonizing sufferers for martyrs, carried to so high an extreme of amiable compassion, in our own region of Cornwall itself; that we find "St. *Villoc*, a hermit and martyr, born of Irish parents, but of the parish of *Lanteglos*, where Walter bishop of Norwich was born in the said parish, one mile from the town of Fowey; and the said saint has his feast observed, on the Thursday next before Whitsunday.—St. *Wyllow* was beheaded by *Melyn* his relation, near the place where Walter bishop of Norwich was born;" that is, near the mill, as Walter was a son to the miller, where also the saint had his hermitage: "and he," like St. Dennis of France, and St. Genys of Cornwall, "carried his head" after death, and carried it even "to the bridge of St. Wyllow, by the space of half a mile, to the place on which the said church is founded in honour of him;" the chapel of St. Wyllow, of which we know from another writer, and to which our informant has only alluded tacitly in his intimation of its feast before*.

* *Itineraria*, 113: "Sanctus Vylloc, heremita et martir, natus de Hiberniâ, de parochiâ Lanteglys, ubi Walterus episcopus Norwicensis fuit natus in dictâ parochiâ, per unum miliare villæ de Fowey; et dictus sanctus habet festum ejus custoditum, die Jovis proximè ante festum Pentecosten. . . . Memorandum, quòd Walterus episcopus Norwicensis fuit natus in dictâ villâ," *Lanteglys villa*, just mentioned before, "et fuit filius molenarii. Sanctus Wyllow fuit decapitatus per *Melyn ys kynrede*, prope locum ubi episcopus Norwici Walterus fuit natus; et portavit [suum caput] usque pontem Sancti Wyllow, per spacium dimidii miliaris, ad locum ubi dicta ecclesia fundatur in suo honore." Leland's *Itin.* iii. 37: "From Bodenek to Pelene point, a quarter of a mile, and here enterith a pille or creek half a mile up into the land. At the hed of this pille is a chapel of St. *Wilow*, and by it is a place caullid Lamelin," Lan Melin, or Mill Close, "lately longging to Lamelin. —On the south side of this creke is the paroch chirch, caullid Lanteglise juxta Fawey." *Itineraria*, 135: "In Britanniâ, Sancti Genesii martiris, qui ob capitis truncationem . . .

But we see this principle even in the very incident of Cornish history primarily before us; when one who was certainly an equal sufferer with Melor, who must have been equally a Christian with him, even his father Melian, that had bred him up in a monastery, was equally sainted with him. Thus a Cornish church in the west is denominated "Mullyan," by the later Valor, and said to be dedicated to "St. Mellan," but is called expressly by the earlier, "ecclesia Sancti Mellani;" while a church in the east is entitled by *that*, "St. Mellyan aliàs St. Mellyn;" and by *this*, "ecclesia Sancti Mellani."

So extravagantly false does Dr. Borlase's assertion finally appear, that "St. Melor, *although* son of Melianus duke of Cornwall, suffered "martyrdom," when Melor, in reality, suffered merely a murder; when his father suffered equally with him, and when both suffered only from that ambition which has been making *such* martyrs in every age of Christianity since†! But,

"in ecclesiæ [ecclesiâ] canonicorum Lancesdon Et fuerant iii fratres sub nomine "Sancti Genesii, et unusquisque caput suum portabat; unus archiepiscopus Lismore." This last circumstance shews them all to be Irish saints; and the local mark "in Britannîâ" is only in opposition to this preceding it, "in Hiberniâ translatio Sancti Genesii Lismorensis archiepiscopi, 6 vel 5 nonas Maii." At the church of Launceston was also "translatio "capitis Sancti Genesii martiris 14 kal. Aug." Between Mont Martre and Paris was lately a statue of St. Dennis, now swept away (I suppose) with ten thousand objects of a much better quality, carrying his head under his arm like a *chapeau de bras*. And St. Genys is a parish on the northern coast of Cornwall, between Tintagell and Bude Haven; being that very point of our region assuredly, at which St. Genys and his two brothers were beheaded like St. Wyllow, but, like him, as equally Irish with him, and coming with him, probably, from Ireland, beheaded only by private malignity. The church of St. Genys was appropriated to Launceston church; and for that reason was "the translation of the head" of St. Genys observed as a festival, in the latter.

† So in Leland's Itin. viii. 73, we have this notice: "Ex Vitâ S. Clitanci. 'Clitancus, Southe-Walliæ regulus, inter venandum à suis sodalibus occisus est. Ecclesia S. "Clitanci in Southe-Walliâ."—But all this story of Milor and Melian is astonishingly transferred in some confessed legends, from Cornwall to Bretagné. "Ce seroit ici le lieu de parler "de Grallon *compte de Cornouaille*," on the continent,—"de Daniel, Budic, et Meliau suc- "cesseurs de Grallon, *des cruautés de Rivod frere de Meliau, du martyre de Melaire fils "de Meliau*," &c.; "mais en verité il y a si peu de fonds a faire sur les *legendes* qui sont "les

But, as Dr. Borlase instantly proceeds to a SECOND incident, perhaps he may be more fortunate in this. "By persisting in their druidism," he says, and speaks only as before from the plenitude of his own antiquarian ideas, all inflamed with writing so much about druidical remains, real or supposed, and all swelling out into *this* protuberance of false history, that druidism was more predominant and more rooted in Cornwall, than in any other region of Britain; "the Britons of Cornwall drew the attention of St. Patrick that way, who about the year 432, with 20 companions, halted a little in his way to Ireland on the shores of Cornwall, where he is said to have built a monastery. Whether SAINT GERMAN was in Cornwall at this time, I cannot say," though the tradition is recorded so strongly by Mr. Willis, and in such a work as his account of a Cornish parish; an argument of the Doctor's neglect in consulting even local accounts for his local history; "but, according to Usher, he was *either* in Cornwall or Wales; for St. Patrick is said 'ad præceptorem suum beatum Germanum divertisse, et apud Britanos in partibus Cornubiæ et Cambriæ aliquandiu substitisse;' or, as the words literally translated, run, 'to have turned aside to his preceptor, the blessed Germanus, and to have staid some time among the Britons in the parts of Cornwall and of Wales' †." This allegation, however, is all as unfortunate as the preceding.

That "the Britons of Cornwall drew the attention of St. Patrick, *that way*;" that "he halted a little on the shores of Cornwall; yet is said to have built a monastery" there; that the Britons of Cornwall drew him into the country, "by persisting in their druidism," yet "he halted but a little" among them; "built a monastery," but made no converts; that, however, he actually came merely to visit "his preceptor the blessed Germanus," and actually "staid some time" with "les seul memoires dont on pourroit tirer ce que l'on auroit a en dire, qu'il vaut mieux s'en taire tout a fait." (Lobineau, i. 9.) The only excuse for this falsification of history, is, what was in all probability the very cause of it, a confusion made in the mind by the two Cornwalls, and a consequent transfer of facts from the English Cornwall to the French.

† Borlase, 369.

him; yet that then he staid not in *Cornwall* positively, but “either in *Cornwall or Wales*,” and (as the author unconsciously corrects himself afterwards) in *both*, even “among the Britons in the parts of *Cornwall, and of Wales*,” all carries such an amazing train of contradictions upon the face of it, as shews us chaos in all its wildest commotions, billow dashing against billow, and the whole whitened over with fragments of broken waves.—Let us, however, examine these fragments one by one, as well as we can.

That St. Patrick is “said” to have built a monastery, is derived only from the vulgar error which I have previously pointed out, of confounding St. Patrick with St. Petrock*. That St. Patrick was ever in *Cornwall*, is collected, indeed, from the words of Usher, translated above. But then these are the words of the Index only, and end with another word, “traditur,” annexed, which Dr. Borlase has wholly suppressed, which yet throws a dubiousness over all the preceding, refers solely to the evidences in the work, and leaves these to carry merely their due weight with the reader†. Dr. Borlase, however, cites the Index instead of the work itself, maims the body of that by lopping off an important limb, and never consults the evidences in this at all. *We*, therefore, must do what he ought to have done. Then we find the passage to which the reference is principally made, running thus in Jocelin, as he describes the journey of St. Patrick from Rome to Ireland. In his way, says this his best biographer, “he turned aside to visit him who had bred and “educated him, the blessed Germanus‡;” then certainly not in *Cornwall*, as Germanus certainly came not into *Cornwall* so early as “about the “year 432;” but at his see of Auxerre, in France, as the non-specification of the place sufficiently implies of itself, and as Usher has actually intimated in some words which Dr. Borlase has suppressed again. They are these that I mark with Italics; “turned aside to visit the blessed

* See i. 3.

† Usher, 516: “‘Patricius, cum xx—comitibus,—instituto in Hiberniam itinere, ad—“beatum Germanum—divertisse, et apud Britannos—aliquamdiu substitisse traditur.’ 44, “238, 428, 438, &c.”

‡ Usher, 438: “‘Divertit—ad beatum Germanum, nutritorem et eruditorem suum.’”

“Germanus,

“Germanus, *bishop of Auxerre*†.” Usher also confirms this interpretation in another passage, in which he observes some part of a period in the saint’s life must be assigned, *not* any to his visit of St. German in Cornwall, *but* “all to his stay at *Auxerre* with St. German‡.” Yet, as he expressly tells us at the very place, “Jocelin, with others, shews “us, that this very famous prelate of the church of *Auxerre*—*staid at home*, both *when* he sent Patrick to Celestin,” at Rome, “accompanied by his oldest presbyter, and *when* he again *took leave of him after his return from Rome*§.” Jocelin certainly shews the latter visit to have been at *Auxerre*, by the very tenour of his narration; saying that “Patrick hastened his return” from Rome “towards Ireland, with the “twenty men celebrated for the goodness of their lives and the greatness of their wisdom, who had been deputed by the pope himself “to assist him;” that “yet he turned aside” in France “to the blessed “Germanus, who had bred and educated him, *from whose liberality he “received chalices and sacerdotal vestments, a variety of books, and other “articles belonging to the service and ministry of the church**.” So much worse than negligent does the Doctor here appear! so easily have we whirled away his Cornwall, and settled it in the heart of France!

In vain then does the Doctor maintain, from the Index of Usher, that St. Patrick came into Cornwall, and continued some time in it. Those, who

Thus catch the eel of science by the tail,

are often deluded in their grasp, as they find it, in spite of all their efforts, writhing and wriggling out of their hands. Yet, when we turn to the testimonies in the body of Usher’s work, we find one evidence

† Usher, 516: “Ad beatum Germanum Autissiodorensem episcopum divertisse.”

‡ Usher, 435: “Autissiodorensi apud S. Germanum incolatui assignandum censemus.”

§ Usher, 438: “Celeberrimum illum Autissiodorensis ecclesiæ antistitem—domi mansisse, et quum Patricium ad Celestinum unà cum seniore suo presbytero mitteret, et quum eundem Româ redeuntem iterum a se dimitteret; præter alios ostendit Jocelinus.”

* Usher, 438: “Versus Hiberniam, cum viginti viris vitâ ac sapientiâ præclaris, ab ipso summo pontifice sibi deputatis in adiutorium, regressum maturavit; divertit autem ad B. Germanum, nutritorem et eruditorem suum, ex cujus munere accepit calices et vestimenta sacerdotalia, copiam codicum, et alia quæ pertinent ad cultum et ministerium ecclesiasticum’.”

for St. Patrick's visit in Cornwall, even that of archbishop Anselm; but of Anselm opposed by all other evidences, and of Anselm abandoned even by the credulity of Dr. Borlase himself. Under all these circumstances of disparagement, however, let us just stop to examine it for the sake of purging the history more thoroughly. "That glorious and ever-memorable confessor St. Patrick," affirms Anselm, "while he staid in the country of Cornwall, intent upon holy actions; was admonished by the voice of an angel to go into Ireland, in order to preach the faith of Christ in it: then—he arose without delay, and repaired to the place pointed out to him by God*." In this relation we see St. Patrick, residing in no specified part of Cornwall, but there receiving the first warning from Heaven to go and preach the Gospel to the Irish. Yet this is contradicted directly by all the biographers of St. Patrick, who declare, with one voice, that he went from ROME to preach to the Irish†: and by Nennius or his enlarger, the oldest of them all, who particularly asserts him to have received his angelic monition in ROME‡. This contradiction, therefore, breaks the spider's thread of authority in Anselm, directly; and turns the residence of St. Patrick upon the shores of Cornwall, occasioned by we know not what, and calculated in his coming into the county like Cato's into the theatre, merely for his going out again, into a mere nothing, the poor impertinence of fable, and the airy gossamere of ignorance §.

* Usher, 439: "Gloriosus et prædicandus ubique Domini confessor Patricius, cùm in Cornubiæ partibus sanctis actibus moraretur, intentus, admonitus est voce angelicâ, ut Hiberniæ insulam, fidem Christi in eâ prædicaturus, adiret. Tunc—sine morâ surrexit, et locum sibi præsignatum a Deo—expetiit'."

† Usher, 436-438.

‡ Usher, 437: "A Cœlestino papâ Romano, et angelo Dei cui nomen erat Victor monente,—mittitur'." Giraldus Cambrensis (Usher, 439) asserts him to have received the angelic monition at St. David's in Wales. Local attachments form a centre of gravitation in history at times, that violently attracts the whole system to it, and throws all the operations of all the orbs into disorder.

§ Borlase, 369, 370, slightly notes another visit by St. Patrick into Cornwall. As, however, he cites no author for the visit, there is no need to oppose him. "Earth's base, built on stubble," falls back into chaos, of course. But I have previously shaken it into atoms, in a note to i. 3.

Let us, therefore, go on to Dr. Borlase's THIRD proof. Of the scholars of St. Patrick, he tells us, "Fingarus," who is called also Guigner, and now Gwinear in a parish of Cornwall adopting his appellation, "from Armorica, whither the like druid superstition, which had overspread all the *west*," just as it had overspread all the *east* too, both of Gaule, and of Britain, "had probably called him," when Christianity had certainly triumphed over druidism in the *west*, equally as in the *east*, of both; "passing into Ireland his native country, and *finding* it, by the "labours of St. Patrick and his priests, thoroughly converted to Christianity," as if he, who was one of the scholars of St. Patrick, a native Irishman, and therefore (we may be sure) one of his most active agents in converting Ireland, should not have known this before, "gave up his "right to a crown, by that time fallen to him upon the decease of his "father Clito, and with his sister Piala, eleven bishops, and a numerous "attendance, all baptized [and some of them consecrated] by St. Patrick, "came into Cornwall;" not to retire into solitude, as St. Petrock apparently came, and as the facts (if true) will compel us to suppose these came, but, as the Doctor's argument infers and his conclusion speaks out, to convert the Cornish to the Gospel; "and, landing at the mouth of the "river Hayle, was there put to death with all his company by Theodorick king of Cornwall, *for fear lest they should turn his subjects from "their ancient religion ¶.*"

For this the Doctor again quotes Usher, and not Usher in his Index, but in the body of his work *. So quoted, Usher certainly is very respectable authority, and Usher's witness says all that the Doctor alleges from Usher. But his witness is only the convicted Anselm again, and Anselm again opposed by Jocelin the biographer of St. Patrick. Jocelin mentions *not* Fingar's return to his native country of Ireland; mentions *not* his resignation of a crown in Ireland; mentions *not* his leaving Ireland "with his sister Piala, eleven bishops, and a numerous attendance;" mentions *not* his coming with them into Cornwall; and mentions *not* his or their being murdered in Cornwall. Jocelin does not mention Fingar

¶ Borlase, 370.

* "Usher, cap. xvii. p. 869."

at all: nor does any author notice him, before the falsifying Anselm; who has attributed to him that very act of reverence towards St. Patrick, in rising to the saint on the saint's coming into a large assembly of the Irish, and giving him his seat, which Jocelin attributes to Dubtag a capital bard †. Nor has Dr. Borlase acted more honestly in this reference to Usher, than he acted in the one immediately preceding. He has totally suppressed that half-brand of reprobation, which Usher has put upon the forehead of the whole. He has related as certain under the sanction of Usher's name, what Usher has actually detailed as dubious and suspectable. He has thus abused the authority of Usher, and imposed upon the credulity of his reader, at once. Usher relates the whole from Anselm; and then subjoins this significant caution, that "he leaves the credit of the relation to the testimony of the relator ‡." By this stroke he shews his own opinion to be in unison with that of every man, who knows any thing of the religious state of Britain at this period.

But with or without Usher, we must violently drive away these poor ghosts of murdered saints, which have been conjured up by the wand of that necromancer Anselm. They have at times haunted the benighted scene of history ever since: yet they have only just shewn their pale faces hitherto to the clouded moon, then vanished instantly away, and retired into their proper invisibility again. They have now, however, with Dr. Borlase, come forward in open day, beneath the beams of the sun, even in the midst of meridian splendours, to stalk along the stage, to unfold the tale of murders *never committed upon them*, and to point their fingers at the monarch *who never martyred them*.

† Usher, cap. xvii. 442, 443. Opus tripartitum de Vitâ Patricii says he was "Ercus nomine, filius Dego," and "in civitate Slaniæ, eum ad cœlestia migravisse," Jocelinus "etiam confirmat." But Probus in his Life of St. Patrick calls him "Dubtag poetam optimum," even the Opus Tripartitum calls him afterward "Dubtachus filius Vulgayr," which shews the same person to be meant under both the names; "qui deinde, ut Jocelinus addit, baptizatus et in fide Christi confirmatus, carmina—in usum meliorem—composuit." Then comes the fabling Anselm, and "Fingarem sive Guignerum, cujus acta ille descripsit, primum et solum Patricio assurrexisse narrat." Anselm: "hic de univ ersis solus sancto assurgens Patricio," &c.

‡ Usher, 451: "Fide narrantibus relictâ."

SECTION IV.

SUCH then are the facts alleged by the Doctor, to prove the persevering druidism of the Cornish, as low as "*most part* of the *sixth* century;" when the very latest of them is fixed by the Doctor's own author, Usher, to come no lower than about the year 460, a little beyond the *middle* of the *fifth* §; and when all of them appear to be only the shadowy creations of the fancy. Yet the restriction of druidism merely to "*most part*" of the sixth, I believe, arises wholly from the secret influence of one fact, that Dr. Borlase has omitted to notice in his narration here, and has thrown into a corner in his chronology afterwards ||. The magnetism of this incident was felt, I suppose, as soon as the incident itself was discovered. It was then found strong enough, I apprehend, to repel him from a *part* of the sixth century, and to change the *whole*, as I presume his language once to have run, into *most part*, as it now runs. But let us see this fact, as it is an extraordinary one in itself, and the first evidence that Dr. Borlase could find, of the prevalence of Christianity in Cornwall; yet more fully than we find it in the Doctor himself, even with some accompaniments, illustrative or confirmatory, of which he had hardly a glimpse.

An epidemical disease breaking out in Wales, like the yellow fever of the West-Indies in 1793-1802, and actually called by an appellation nearly the very same, the yellow plague ¶; which spread its ravages over the country: "Teliau, bishop of Landaff," nephew to David the great denominator of St. David's, "embarked," says an ancient history

§ Usher, 521: "Cccclx.—Circa hæc—tempora, Fingarem sive Guignerum, ex Britannia Armorica in patriam reversum, Hiberniam legibus Christi subditam invenisse," &c. "Anselmus narrat."

|| Borlase, 408.

¶ Usher, 40, 41, from Giraldus Cambrensis: "Ingruente per Cambriam—peste quadam, quâ catervatim plebs occubuit, quam flavam pestem vocabant, quam et physici ictericam dicunt passionem'.—Pestis ista—Britannis, a flavo colore quo affecti morbo tingebantur, *y gall velen*," or the yellow plague, "*appellata*." In the book of Landaff, says Richards, *ball* is used for a plague, but "*corruptly for mall*," The word is really either *mall*, or *ball*, or *gall*, without any corruption.

of him, inserted in what is named the Register of Landaff, “with some
 “of his suffragan bishops, men of the other orders of ecclesiastics, and
 “laical persons of both sexes, men and women,” for Dole in Bretagné,
 the archbishop of which was Sampson, his countryman of Wales, and his
 fellow-pupil under Dubricius there. “He came first to the region of
 “Cornwall, and WAS WELL RECEIVED BY GERENNIUS THE KING OF THAT
 “COUNTRY, WHO TREATED HIM AND HIS PEOPLE WITH ALL HONOUR.”
 This was in 588, and is a sufficient evidence of the establishment of
 Christianity in Cornwall then. “The saint went thence with his com-
 “pany to the people of Armorica, and was well entertained by them
 “continually. There he and St. Sampson planted a great wood of
 “orchard-trees, about three miles in length, that is, from Dole even
 “to Cai; as the very groves are honoured with their names even at this
 “day, being called the Orchards of Teliau and Sampson. Ever since that
 “time has the see of Dole been honoured and celebrated by the testi-
 “mony of all the Armorican Britons, for the conversation of the vene-
 “rable St. Teliau. In the mean time, while these things were done and
 “transacted, it happened that Christ, in his compassion, ordered the yel-
 “low plague to depart and vanish out of all Britain. On hearing this,
 “that faithful leader Teliau was exhilarated, though moderately; yet
 “under the admonition of the Holy Spirit, sending messengers into
 “France, beyond the Alps into Italy, or wherever he knew his com-
 “patriots to have fled, diligently collected them together; that, now the
 “pestilence had ceased, they might all return under the granted peace,
 “from all quarters to their own homes. At last, having prepared a great
 “bark, after a completion of seven years and seven months, which he had
 “spent in the country of Armorica, he entered the bark, with many
 “doctors and some others who were bishops. In this they all arrived at
 “THE PORT called DINGEREIN, king GERENNIUS then *lying in the last ex-*
 “*treme of life*; who, WHEN HE HAD RECEIVED THE BODY OF THE LORD,
 “from the hand of St. Teliau, DEPARTED IN JOY TO THE LORD*.”

This

* Usher, 533, “DLXXXVIII;” 534, “DXCVI;” 290, “‘Surrexit—Sanctus Teliaus,
 “adducens secum quosdam suffraganeos episcopos suos, et cæterorum ordinum viros, cum
 “utriusque sexûs hominibus, viris et mulieribus. Et devenit primitus ad Cornubiensem re-
 “gionem,”

This Gerennius, as Dr. Borlase very properly remarks, “lived at Din-gerein, i. e. the fort of Gerennius; which most likely was somewhere near the church, called from this prince (as ’tis supposed) Gerrans; and gave name to the harbour, thence called Dingerein Port †.” This is very happily said. *O si sic omnia!* The very Din-Gerein, or the fort of Gerennius, now remains in its ground-plot within the parish of Gerens, though at a great distance from the church, and is the very site thus described by Leland. “About a myle bywest of Penare,” notes this very useful antiquary in a passage wholly unobserved by the Doctor, “is a *force*,” or strong hold, “nere the shore in the paroch of St. Gerons. It is single diky’d, and within a but shot of the north side of the same, apperith an hole of a vault broken up by a plough yn tylling. This vault had an issue from the *castelle* to the se: and a little by north of the *castelle* [are] a 4 or 5 borowes or cast hilles ‡.”

This “castelle” or “force” still shews its earthworks conspicuous to the eye, “about a myle bywest of Penare,” and “nere the shore,” being on

“gionem, et bene susceptus est a Gerennio, rege illius patriæ,—et tractavit illum et suum populum cum omni honore. Inde perrexit sanctus cum suis comitibus ad Armoricas gentes, et bene continuò susceptum est ab eis. Ibi ipse et S. Sampson plantaverunt magnum nemus arboreti fructiferi, quasi ad tria milliaria, id est, a Dol usque ad Cai; et decorantur ipsa nemora eorum nomine, usque in hodiernum diem; vocantur enim Arboreta Teliavi et Samsonis. Et ex illo tempore, et deinceps, episcopatus Dolensis decoratur et celebratur, sub testimonio omnium Armoricorum Britonum, ob conversationem et reverentiam Sancti Teliavi. Interea dum hæc agerentur et tractarentur, contigit quòd Christus per misericordiam suam præciperet, ut illa prædicta lues quæ flava dicebatur exiret et evanesceret de Britannia insulâ totâ. Quo audito, fidelis duxor Teliavi in modicum ex hilaratus, et Sancto Spiritu summonitus, missis legatis in Franciam, et ultra Alpes in Italiam, et quòcunque cognitum sibi erat eos aufugisse, recollegit compatriotas diligenter in unum; ut omnes, extinctâ pestilentia, cum datâ pace per omnia redirent ad propria. Demum preparatâ magnâ barca, peractisque septem annis ac septem mensibus, quos S. Teliavi duxerat in Armoricanorum patriâ, intravit in eam cum multis doctoribus et quibusdam aliis, episcopis; et applicuerunt in portum vocatum Dinerein, rege Gerennio in extremis tum posito; qui, accepto corpore Domini de manu S. Teliavi, lætus migravit ad Dominum.” For Teliavi’s relationship to David, for Sampson, and for Dubricius, see Usher, 41.

† Borlase, 408.

‡ Leland’s Itin. iii. 30, 31.

the exterior rim of the sea's sloping bank, about a mile and a quarter to the north of Gerens church, close at the left of the road from Tregoney to St. Mawes, and just upon the Tregoney side of Trewithien, "in the parish of St. Gerons." The military aspect of it at the margin of the road attracts the attention of every eye, and solicits the curiosity of every mind: but it has hitherto solicited and attracted in vain. For years, as I have been riding by it myself, I have felt a strong desire, and have formed a full resolution, to return at a future hour of leisure, and to explore its nature carefully. Yet I should probably have gone on through life so feeling and so forming, if my present undertaking had not found it within the sweep of its *vortex*, and so drawn it into the centre of its waters. My examination of the antiquity thus became necessary, to the completeness of my work. I then found the fortress standing upon the southern side of a little eminence, and viewing the ground to fall from it gently on the south to Trewithien, but sharply on the east to the sea. The whole is nearly circular, about an acre in compass; a fair level, formed by artificial soil accumulated upon the ground, and denominated *the plain* familiarly by the farmer, to distinguish it from the rest of the field at the head of which it lies. Up this field is the approach to it, where it comes forward to the eye as an eminence raised by the hand, with a tall bank descending steeply from it. But at the northern end of the bank is the entrance into it, wound with great artifice about two sides of it; a broad fosse there opening upon you, carrying a rampart on each side, and still shewing at the mouth of it the remains of that cross rampart, which once united with gates to secure this only avenue into the castle. The fosse has been scooped out with great labour, and the earth of it thrown upon the area within; which has made the remaining soil of it very shallow. It thus proceeds with a rampart of nine or ten feet in height, on the right and left; that on the left the mere fall of the area, but that on the right a regular bank of earth, perpendicular without, yet sloping within, carrying two or three eminences in its line, that spire up like so many turrets of earth, and have been long supposed by the noticing neighbours to be stations for sentinels. In this manner the fosse reaches the south-western angle, when the bank of the area instantly reclines into a smooth ascent of nine or ten feet in breadth, and so marks the very entrance.

entrance into the castle. With such address and ingenuity was the avenue up to it managed, by the original constructors of it! This striking feature in the complexion of the building, very plainly indicates it to have been constructed at a period when the violence of war was swayed by the wisdom of policy, when warfare had been improved into a system, and the mind predominated strongly over all the modes of defence. The rest of the area is left to its own securities, its elevation above the ground adjoining, the gentle fall on the south, and the sharp descent on the east. It has therefore no fosse in front and upon one side. Thus is the whole as Leland describes it, "single diky'd," or having only one ditch about it. But what lends a fulness to the evidence, close by it on the north, in the lane leading along it from the road towards the sea, upon a small vacancy of ground at the union of both, were within memory some of those "4 or 5 borowes or cast hilles," which Leland places "a little by north of the castelle;" one of them very large, all of them assuredly the sepulchres of the family once resident within it; as upon the formerly probably was fixed the beacon, that has lent the appellation of Beacon-hill to the vacancy, has communicated the title of Beacon-close to the field immediately adjoining on the north, and occasionally extends the former appellation to the fortress itself.

"Within a but shot of the north side of the same," as Leland adds in a language of mensuration allusive to archery, once therefore as familiar as archery itself, but now with archery nearly lost, and meaning as far as a shaft used in shooting at a butt can carry point blank, or, in other words, about twelve-score yards from the north side of the fortress*; "apperith" "a hole of a vault, broken up by a plough in tylling. This vault *had an issue* from the *castelle* to the *se*." Here we have a very extraordinary discovery. Yet Leland saw it with his own eyes, as he says the "hole of a vault" yet "apperith." A subterraneous passage had been formed in the ground, from this fortress along the land immediately adjoining on the *north*, and to the sea at its eastern side. But it had been

* Shakespeare, Hen. IV. Part 2d, ix. 127: "Dead! he shot a fine shoot:—John of Gaunt lov'd him well, and betted much money on his head. Dead!—he would have clapp'd i'th' clout at twelvescore." See also Part 1st, viii. 485.

formed so slight in itself, and so shallow in the ground there, as to have been opened by the plough in tilling; the coulter dipping a little lower than usual, tearing up some of the covering stones, and disclosing the channel to the eye. It then appeared, however, to the very judgment of a Leland, an evident "vault;" an excavation much larger than the mere channel of a sewer to the castle; a passage ample and vaulted. It appeared also to him, evidently extending one way up to the castle, and another way down to the sea; and he thought the discovery considerable enough to be recorded even in his brief chronicle of incidents: yet, as Leland usefully subjoins in the margin, "[a mile] dim. from this," by which he means a mile and a half †, "[there] is *another* in a," or "in the syde," as Stowe reads the words, "of an hille: . . . ^{these} . . . are a "quarter . . . of a mile . . . from the lordship of thy," Trewithyen, "sumtyme the [Archd]ekens" of Ruan Lanyhorne castle, "now [Corbett]es and Tre[gions] ‡." This second "hole of a vault," which equally "had an issue from the castelle to the se," and was equally "a quarter of a mile" from Trewithien, is apparent still when the other is lost. The other ran towards the sea through ground still earthy and loose, often falling away in the cliffs, and always admitting badgers to burrow in it; was discovered in its course by an accident no longer remembered, yet is now lost equally to the eye and to the memory itself. But this remains from the rocky nature of the ground through which it was cut, comes out therefore to the eye "in the syde of an "hille," opening through the side of the hill-cliff in what is commonly called *the Mermaid's Hole*, and engaging the speculations of the neighbourhood greatly. The mouth of it is large enough to admit a man walking erect, has been often entered by the steps of timorous curiosity, and even pursued by some of a more daring spirit for forty or fifty yards up into the land: at that distance, from the falling-in of the roof, it contracts very much, obliges a person to creep, but allowed a boy in that

† So in iii. 26: "There lyith a little cape or foreland within the haven" of Falmouth, "*a mile dim.*" from and "almost again Mr. Kiligrewe's house, caullid Penfusus." 29: "From S. Just pille or creke to S. Manditus creke is *a mile dim.*" 30: "From S. Antonie Point at the mayn se to Penare Point *a 3 miles dim.*"

‡ The hooks are in the printed copy, the words overhead are supplied by me.

posture not long since to push some yards farther up it; who crept hastily back, however, in a fright at encountering two otters there. Foxes have equally been found in it at times. Some sheep also are said to have been drowned in it a few years ago, by the influx of the tide catching them there. And it takes its appellation of *Mermaid's Hole*, from the idea of this modern *Venus of the sea*, with her comb and her looking-glass, entering it upon the top of the tide; so low does it lie in the side of the cliff!

Yet for what purpose could these two tunnels have been formed? Even the smaller of them appears too large for a sewer, and the bigger of them is very much too large. They both moved in a direction likewise, too long in itself, too diverging from the castle, to be sewers. Nor would there have been *two* sewers. One alone would have sufficed, have gone a few yards, perhaps, underground from the castle, and then have dismissed its contents to find their way, by flowing in some open channel, or by tumbling over the cliffs to the sea. These were therefore that cautious provision of private sally-ports, of which we hear so much by tradition at some of our ancient castles, and learn enough from history to credit its report. Thus, at Launceston castle in our own county, tradition pronounces with a firm tone of voice, that there was a subterraneous way out of the keep, diving down through the body of the hill, and emerging in the country below: some carry it into the town, and others into the fields at the back of the castle; but all are so fully convinced of its existence, that they say it commenced in the keep under a blue stone, and went from this to its termination. At Restormel castle also, which was erected equally by the lords of the county, and constructed upon a plan of defence nearly the same, a subterraneous road is so far *known* by tradition to have penetrated through the heart of the hill, from top to bottom; that *the very opening at the bottom* is reported with confidence to this moment, though tradition presumes not to point a sure and steady finger at the place. To cut such a winding passage through the rock, must have been a work of considerable difficulty; yet no difficulty could deter men who had the force of a whole county at their command, who studied every art of warfare with particular attention, and practised

practised every labour of warfare with peculiar promptness: and such a dark, subterraneous wicket, which was calculated only for the last moments of distress, and reserved as a means of escape under the pressure of desperate necessity, would naturally be known to few, be kept as a secret in the breast of the principal officer, begin in some sequestered room within, and terminate in some sequestered place without; open at its outset under a blue or a black stone in a locked-up chamber, and end at its vent under a bank, under a bush, or under a thicket: *there* the stone might never be seen by any but one of the garrison, and *here* the mouth of it would present merely the appearance of a drain. All this we see lively exhibited to our eyes in a single incident of our national history. The castle of Nottingham, which we know to have been maintained by the Danes and besieged by the Saxons, so early as the year 868*, had just such a subterraneous conveyance as this out of it. Upon the western side of that rock on which the castle rears its head, was a cave of dismal aspect, leading into a narrow gallery that had been hewn through the earth stony or loose in a very uneven manner, till it reached the rock itself. Into this it entered at the foot of a pair of stairs, ascended up it by the stairs, and came out within the keep or chief tower above†. “There is,” says Leland, describing the castle as it then stood, and speaking from traditions then unmixed with romance, “a choclea [cochlea or “spiral stairs] with a turret over it” in the chief tower or keep, “where the keepers of the castelle say Edward the Thirde’s band came up “through the rok, and toke the erle Mortymer prisoner. Ther is yet a “fair staire to go down by the rok to the ripe of Line ‡.” This passage still remains, winding through the upper part of the rock without stairs, and walled up for the remainder, but was wholly unknown to all except the constable of the castle, in 1330. He then stole out of the castle to

* Asser, 19, 20.

† History of Edward III. by Joshua Barnes, 1688, p. 48; and Carte, ii. 405, 406, the copyist of Barnes.

‡ Itin. i. 107. The keepers had not then forgotten so far their tale, as to tell what they told to Camden afterwards. “In superiori—castri parte quæ sublime in rupe surgit, per “gradus in—cameram subterraneam—devenimus, quam *Mortimer’s Hole* vocant, quod “*ea delituit Rogerus ille*,” &c. p. 413.

Edward in the neighbourhood, led Edward's party at midnight into that cave, along that gallery, and up those stairs, surprised the queen, surprised Mortimer, and fixed the appellation of *Mortimer's Hole* upon the passage ever since §. Such a private sally-port had the royal castle of Nottingham, and the nearly royal castles of Launceston or Restormel, belonging to each of them! But our royal castle of Gerens was magnificently provided with a couple for greater security; each taking so oblique a range, as to run about three quarters of a mile before it reaches the sea; each therefore diverging so widely from the other, as to have been at their mouths "a mile dimid. from" each other; and each issuing in an opening to the sea, which would seem from the divergence, the obliquity, or the length, to have no connexion with the castle, or if thought connected, as connected they must certainly appear on reflection, to be merely the vents of drains from it.

This then was the Din-Gerein of the Landaff Register, standing upon high ground near the cliffs of the sea, lending its own appellation to the fine rounding bay of Creek Stephen, *alias* Pendower, below, causing it to be called "the *port* of Din-Gerein," and being in reality what the very name signifies in British, the "Din" or Castle of "Gerein." In this the king hospitably entertained bishop Teliau with his company, A. D. 588; then flying by sea from Wales into Bretagné, and putting by the way into that port. In this too the bishop, on his return seven years afterward, administered the eucharist to the king, then on the awful bed of death; and in this, almost immediately afterwards, the king "departed in joy "to the Lord." The king therefore had been long a Christian, an *avowed*, a *well-known* Christian; even well known to the clergy of *Wales*, for an *avowed* Christian. But he was even more than this. Amid subjects professing Christianity equally with himself, he stood so conspicuous in his life and spirit as to be revered for his devoutness, and to be sainted for his holiness, immediately afterwards among them.

His body, indeed, was removed by his son assuredly, and interred in the parish of Veryan; the son living there in a castle constructed nearly on

§ Barnes, 48; and Carte, ii. 405, 406.

the same model as Din-Gerein, and therefore placing his father in a most dignified monument near him. In that parish, and within an estate called Gwendraeth *, is a field denominated *Borough-close* from an oval entrenchment there, reputed by tradition and reported by remains to have been a castle; the side of a hill having been reduced to a sloping level for the area of it, somewhat similarly to the ground at Gerens; the whole too, like that, being nearly an acre in extent, and having its avenue, like the avenue of that, winding cautiously in a fosse about a great part of it, before it presumes to enter. This fosse-way mounts up the hill from the base of the eminence, clipping in the eminence on both sides, improving in depth as it gains in ascent, and entering the area by its only gateway on the south-east above. This fortress has even assumed all the importance which Din-Gerein itself once possessed, of communicating its own name to the port under it; the last being denominated even to these later days, "Gwindruith," or "Gwyndraith" bay †, the bay of the white sand. Here therefore I apprehend the son of Gerein to have resided, at the death of his royal father; and hither I believe him to have transferred the remains of the king, in order to bury them in that great barrow near the Borough-close, which is so apparently from its size the sepulchre of a king. It is one of the largest barrows in England, being about 372 feet in circumference at the base, while that amazing mass of accumulated mould, Silbury-hill, is only about 500 ‡. It was originally called the *Carne*, as the estate enclosing it is still denominated *Carne*, and as it is popularly styled itself at present from a beacon erected upon it, *Carne Beacon*; the appropriated term for a barrow being still *Carn* in Welsh. In analogical strictness, indeed, *Carne* signifies one made of accumulated stones, so shews this kind of barrows to be prior in time to any other, but in use and practice imports also one composed of *earth*, like this. Nor did the fashion of burying in barrows terminate with the reign of heathenism. It went on equally under Christianity. One single fact demonstrates this. The barrow of Vortigern, that famous monarch of

* Guendraeth, commonly called Gwendra, takes its name as Gwen Draeth, from the white beach below it, the white sands of Pendower.

† Norden 55, and Map of Powder Hundred there.

‡ Stukeley's Abury, 43.

all Roman Britain about the middle of the fifth century, was placed among the mountains of Caernarvonshire, was there opened during the last century, and found to be a collection of small stones, as ours is of loose soil, covering a chest or coffin of stone, as ours assuredly covers, and so forming the strongest protection possible to be formed for the body of the king within. But the fashion went on with the natives of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, for ages afterward; even still remains in allusiveness of expression or in similarity of practice among them, to this day*. It even remains unnoticed among *ourselves* at the present moment; those commonest of all barrows, as requiring the least labour in making, the long, being still exhibited to every eye, and still striking the eye of antiquarianism particularly, in the long rolls of earth over graves within our country churchyards. But what serves to appropriate this monument to that king, tradition talks of a *boat* entering the barrow, to be *there buried* with its *oars of silver* and its *sides of gold*. The traditional tale is so deeply stamped upon the popular imagination, that, on a reported design in me to explore the interiors of the barrow lately, the farm-servants began to request their masters for a holyday, in order to see this buried boat unearthed. The royal remains were brought in great pomp, probably by water, from Din-Gerein on the western shore of the port, to Carne about two miles off on the northern; the barge with the royal body was plated, perhaps, with gold in places, perhaps, too, rowed with oars, having equally plates of silver upon them; and the pomp of the procession has mixed confusedly with the interment of the body, on the memory of tradition. Thus was the monument fixed here, in order to be near the son, near his palace, near the descendants of *him* and the inhabitants of *it*.

Such honour was paid him by his own family; but still greater was paid him by his subjects. Din-Gerein, which appears from *his* name in *its* to have been constructed by *him*, was now deserted at his death, and therefore took the appellation which it bears with some fields about it, *Curgurell*, or the Court-castle Walls; the walls rising in ruins, and the

* Hist. of Manchester, ii. 139-141, octavo.

clay or the lime mortar, or both, mixing with the mould of the area, to give it that richness of vegetation which it now possesses *. Yet, soon after his burial, and while the celebrity of his religiousness was still impressed upon the minds of the many, the church of Gerens appears to have been built, and to have, *therefore*, adopted his sainted name. His name is the same with, though his person is very different from, that of *Gereinte*, king of Wales, who lived a little afterwards †; that of *Gerunt*, who was actually a king of Cornwall, and lived a whole century afterwards ‡; or that of *Gereint* ap Erbyn, who was equally a king of Cornwall, and lived much nearer to 588 than either §. Hence the church is called, in the Valor of pope Nicholas, “ecclesia de Sancto Gerendo,” and “ecclesia de Sancto Gerundo;” but in the Valor of Henry VIII. as it now is, Gerens. And the parishioners carefully observe the day of his death to the present time, though they have long forgotten his memory; keeping the feast of their sainted monarch, on the Sunday immediately succeeding the 10th of August, a season of the year very favourable for the prosperous navigation of his Welsh visitors from Bretagné, yet very unfavourable for the observance of his feast-day, because of the harvest, and so proving more strongly the 10th of August to be the very day of his death. The festival of a saint is fixed by custom, with a dignity of spirit that the Gospel alone could infuse into the mass of man.

* In the legal papers of the estate the name is so written, not Cargurrell, as in the great map of Cornwall. *Cur* is a court (Pryce), being merely the Latin *Curia*; but *Gur* is thus derived: Cader (W.), Cathair, Cahir (I.), Caer (W.), Caer, Geere (C.), is a fortress, all implying war in the radical idea; as Cad (W.), Cath (I.), and Cad (C.), is a fight; and so producing a word, unknown in this sense to the British vocabularies, yet evidently existing in the British language once, *Gaer* for war. Thus, *Tre-gaer*, a local name frequent in Cornwall, signifies the war-house or castle. *Guerre* is still French for war, and “Din *Guayr* Guarth Berneich,” or “Din Guo Aroy” for “Din Guoaroy,” was the British appellation for Bamborough castle in the days of Nennius, importing “the War-town, the capital of the Bernicii” (Nennius’s Appendix in Gale, i. 116, 117); and the terminating syllable is Gual (C.) a wall, pronounced as wall is in *Burralls*, for Burgh-walls, at Bath, and in *gunnel*, for gun-wall, on board a ship.

† Sax. Chron. 50, and Huntingdon, 193.

‡ Usher, 478, 540.

§ See next note.

kind;

kind; *not* upon his birthday; *not* upon any day of memorable activity in his life, *but* upon the very day of his death; the day on which he yielded to the superinduced principle of corruption in our bodies, *but* the day also on which he rose in his soul superior to corruption, triumphant over sin, a companion for angels, and a favourite with God*.

SECTION

* Gereint ap Erbyn was the father, probably, to *our* Gerein, however the genealogies of Cornwall may assign him another father. (Borlase, 407, 408.) Concerning him, Lhuyd, 239, 240, very convincingly remarks, that there is a place in Cornwall, "called Trev Erbin, which "might be so denominated from his father." There is one near St. Austle, and another near St. Neots. The latter is called Trev-Erbyn Park. But he observes additionally, that "there is," also, "yet in Cornwall a place called Gerens which is *their modern* "pronunciation of Gereint, they constantly changing *t* into *s*." Pryce takes no notice at all of this mode of pronouncing the *t* as *s* in Cornish. He only mentions, and incidentally too, that "*Bitqueth*—has been changed into *Bisqueth*," But this instance concurs with *Guenedhi* pronounced as *Guenesi*, Welsh, to shew the mode was common to both dialects. The authority, indeed, of Lhuyd alone is decisive, for the Cornish "constantly changing *t* "into *s*." Nor was this mode, however Lhuyd declares that it was, merely "modern." The concurrence of the Welsh with the Cornish in it, proves it not to be "modern;" and the Cornish pronunciation we see at once to be ancient, in the same appellation being written so dissimilarly as Gereint, Gerend, Gerennius, or Gerens. This Gereint ap Erbyn, however, Lhuyd calls "a nobleman of Cornwall or Devon, about the year 540;" and similarly adds, he "was of the *borders* of Devon." In so speaking, Lhuyd relies on a poem of Llowarch-Hen, a Welsh bard, in which this king is said to be of the "Dyvneint." The poem has been recently published, and translated among the "Heroic Elegies and other Pieces of Llywarch Hen, by William Owen, 1792." In this lamentation upon Gereint's death, he is styled "Tywysawg Dyvnaint," in the original, and "Prince of Devon" in the translation. But when Llowarch wrote, and (as I shall soon shew) for two centuries afterward, Dyvneint or Damnonia certainly *included* Cornwall with Devonshire, and did not become the exclusive denomination of Devonshire, till some time afterwards. Nor was this hero slain (as both Mr. Owen and Mr. Lhuyd seem to insinuate) in any *naval battle* against the Saxons. No such battle is known in the whole history of the Saxon invasions; nor will the name of *Longborth* for the place at which he was killed, however it may signify *Ship-harbour*, prove any such. It proves the battle only to have been at some great harbour, then denominated *Longborth*. And the whole tenour of the elegy proves it to have been upon land there, Gereint and his enemies being equally *mounted on horses*. It was fought while Arthur was the "emperor and conductor of the toil of war." It was fought, therefore, not at London, as has been generally supposed from some trifling *consonance* of names; not at Portsmouth, as Mr. Owen less idly conjectures, but at Plymouth, probably, as the Porth Long or Longborth of *Damnonia*; at Wembury, perhaps, on the eastern side of Plymouth Sound,

SECTION V.

So plainly was he, so plainly were they, all Christians at the very time! But, with the commencing incident in my history of Cornish Christianity, let me couple, as in some measure a part of it, an incident relative to the same region of Cornwall, belonging nearly to the same period of time, and strongly confirmatory of the whole.

Under the year 564, according to the Gallican martyrology, or (what is the same in effect) under 570, according to Usher; died a religious native of Britain, who is better known in France than in his own country, but who has left some memorials behind him in Cornwall, that have never yet been applied to history. SAINT MACLOVIUS, St. Malo, St. Machutus, or St. Machu, for he is known by all these names abroad, is said by this Usher and that martyrology, to have been born in Glamorganshire, but by his own biographer at Caer Went in Monmouthshire, and to have passed into an isle near St Maloe's in Bretagné, that had been latterly denominated Aaron, from some saint who had settled there before, but originally bore the appellation of Canalchius. There he lived as a hermit, till the fame of his devoutness was diffused over the country, and the king, the clergy, the laity, all united with a zeal which appears amazing to an age buried in worldly selfishness, to place such a saint in episcopal authority over them. Partly by force, partly by persuasion, he was induced to become the bishop of the city of Aleth, distant about two miles from him, then the metropolis of Bretagné, and the residence of the king. The son of this king afterwards treated him so injuriously, that he abdicated his episcopate, abandoned his city, and

Sound, noticed as Wicgan-beorche in Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 851, the scene of a battle then with the Danes, but like Parrot-mouth in Somersetshire, and Carrum in Dorsetshire, both equal scenes of battles with the Danes, having had its appellation before, and being called Wicgan-beorche, from this wic or battle with the Britons.

took refuge with a brother bishop at Saintes, in Aquitaine*. Thither his spiritual subjects followed him, with professions of their penitence and with supplications for his return. He returned, was well received, and continued with them a little while; then went into Aquitaine to die, died, and was buried, there. But such was the opinion of his pliability, his devoutness, and his holiness, entertained by the people of his own city for ages afterward; that in the twelfth century they transferred *their* city and *his* see, to the very isle on which he had lived as a hermit; and gave them both the appellation which the isle must have had before, that of St. Maloe's, from him. Such was the bishop of Bretagne†.

But

* This saint has been drest up by his early biographer Bifi, and by his late biographer John of Tinmouth, in colours furnished only by their own characters; as invoking a curse upon his persecutors of Aleth. (Coll. ii. 432; Usher, 277; and Cressy, 254.) But the Gallican martyrology, with a contrariety to them, which proves its own veracity, says that he, "although so disgracefully and unjustly exiled, was not unmindful of his flock, but, *for getting all injuries,—daily invoked our Lord's clemency for the conversion of that stubborn people.*" (Cressy, 254.) And the subsequent parts of the saint's history in the text, all unite to confirm the report of the Gallican martyrology. "However," as Cressy remarks with a sarcasticalness directed by propriety, "the centuriators of Magdeburgh characteritably remember only his cursing, and not his prayers." (P. 254.) They might be ignorant, or they might be wilful; whichever they were, they plainly inverted the blazoned portrait of the saint, and then remarked how all his glory was laid low.

† Usher, 532, 277, 40; Cressy, 253, 254; and Leland's Coll. ii. 430-432, iv. 14. The island of his retirement in Bretagne is *not* specified by the Gallican martyrology; is specified by his biographer in Leland, but fixed as his place of retirement *after* he became bishop. It was clearly so, *before*. The town of *Aleth*, too, is averred to be a desolated city by his biographer; yet is made by him, in union with Usher's and Cressy's authors, the see of the bishop. In perusing such pieces of history, the mind must be kept ever awake, and select those incidents alone which criticism can combine into history. "S. Machutus venit ad Aaron insulam, et ibi aliquamdiu mansit." (Coll. ii. 431.) "Princeps, qui tunc dux Britanniae—nomine Judichael erat, electione populi et sacerdotum consensu, in honorem episcopatus cathedræ Aletis civitatis eum sublimare volens, *ad se accersiri* jussit." (Ibid. *ibid.*) "Britonum episcopi, videlicet Sampson, Machu, Paternus," &c. (Ibid. 432.) "Rethuualdus, filius Judicæl, regis Britonum; hic S. Machutum sede et fundo vicino spoliare satagebat.—Reduallus filios Judicæl interficere studebat—; unus filiorum Judicæl, confugiens *ad cellam S. Machuti*," in the isle of Aaron, "inde distractus, a Reduuallo interfectus." (Ibid. *ibid.*) "Canalchius insula *nunc* S. Machuti nomine dicta." (Ibid. *ibid.*)

But let me now attach him in one period of his life, to our own Cornwall. "Machutus," says his biographer, "came to *Corsult*, where "he restored a dead young man to life." But *where* was this? The very next words will shew us. "*Cunmor*," adds the biographer, "was at "that time duke of *the Damnonian region* *." Nor let my reader be startled at my arguing *Corsult* to be in Cornwall by proving it to be "in the Damnonian region." That this region was actually inclusive of Cornwall, is plain from *the very name of that prince of the region*, being found upon *a sepulchral monument in Cornwall*†. Cornwall, indeed, was not merely included within the circuit of Damnonia, as I

ibid.) But this is only the isle of Aaron. (Usher, 277; Cressy, 254.) "Nunc" shews the isle to have had the name of St. Maloe's, *before* the see was removed from Aleth; as the author, in p. 430, speaks of Aleth as *still* standing, and *still* a see, "nos qui diocesis Aletis civitatis colimus."

* Leland's Coll. ii. 432: "Machutus—venit ad Corsult, ubi juvenem defunctum vitæ restituit. Cunmor dux tunc temporis Domnonicæ regionis'."

† Gibson, c. 18: "In the highway, near Fowy, is a stone commonly called the *long stone*, on which is this inscription, *Cirusius hic jacit Cunowori filius*; for the *w* in *Cunowori* must needs be a *m* reversed, the letter *w* being but lately introduced into *any* alphabet. "This man's name in British," by which he means Welsh, "was *Kirys ap Kynvor*; and "it is probable that *Pol-Kirys* (a village within half a mile of this stone) received the name "from him." Borlase, 392: "A mile off (viz. from Castle-dôr), is a broken crosse," says Leland, "thus inscribed: *Conomor et filius cum dominâ Clusillâ*;" but Mr. Lhuyd, who "was better acquainted with the old character, reads the inscription (as published in Camden from his papers (p. 18), *Cirusius hic jacet* [jacit]—*Cunowori filius*. The same learned "person—*justly* thinks the *w* to be a *m* reversed, the *w* being but lately introduced into "the *British* alphabet.—This monument—was removed about twelve years since, from the "four cross-ways, a mile and a half north of Fawy, and lies now in a ditch, about two "bow-shots farther to the north, in the way from Fawy to Castledôr.—Mr.—Lhuyd—in a "letter—says, that this inscription is probably of the *fifth* or *sixth* century. Mr. Moyle, "in his letter on this inscription, says, "the letters resemble the common inscriptions of "the *fourth* and *fifth* century'." How strikingly do the remarks of Mr. Lhuyd, a much superior judge to Mr. Moyle, coincide with the general date here assigned to the royalty of Cunmor, in Cornwall! Dr. Borlase, however, wanders away to "Kinwarwy, son to Awy, "a lord of Cornwall," who, according to Rowland, 155 and 183, naming him *Kynfarwy, son of Awy ap Llehenog*, "gave name to a church in Anglesea, which was built A.D. 630." More judiciously he observes in a note, that "Conmor was a royal name among the "ancient Scots," and is so used in the poems of Ossian.

have alleged before, but as I now allege additionally, was even called Damnonia exclusively, in that period of its history antecedent to the reign of Athelstan, in which it extended its authority beyond the Tamar to the east, even up to the very Exe itself; and in which, embracing all the west of Devonshire with the full compass of the present Cornwall, it naturally retained still the original appellation of Cornwall and Devonshire together. Thus Adhelm of West-Saxony, addressing a letter to the king and the clergy of Cornwall in 705, directs it expressly “to my glorious lord Geruntius, king of the western kingdom,—and likewise “to all God’s priests inhabiting *Danmonia**.” Corsult, therefore, was in “the Damnonian region” of Cornwall. Nor let us be driven from this conviction by what such will object, as have not vigour of intellect sufficient to form a decisive opinion, as therefore hang hesitating in perpetual doubt, and, like the ass between the two bundles of hay, are unable to incline on either side of a question; that there is a *Corseult* and a *Domnonée* in the very region of Bretagne, in which Machutus was living at the time; and that there is even a *Comor* or *Cono-maur*, in the same region. But, seemingly balanced as the probabilities may thus be, there are some circumstances which weigh down one of the scales to the ground. The site of Corsult is fixed by the narration, not in Bretagne, but in some other region to which the saint came, “in his way to his “own country” of Wales†. It was, therefore, not in the *Domnonée* of Bretagne, but “in the Damnonian region” of Britain. And, while *Cono-maur*, or *Comor*, is confessed by the very historian who mentions him, to be merely the hero of a legend‡; the Cunmor of the narration is actually recorded in that best of all registers, a sepulchral inscription upon a stone “in the Damnonian region” of Cornwall itself. Where

* Cressy, 481. This Geruntius is that “Geroncius rex,” as the names shew, who “dedit “*Macnir*,” probably *Maker*, “de v. hid. *juxta Thamer*,” to Sherborne church. (*Monasticon*, i. 62.)

† Leland’s Coll. ii. 432: “Mochutus, patriam suam repetiturus, venit ad Corsult.”

‡ Lobineau, i. 9: “Ce seroit ici le lieu de parler de—l’origine du fameux Comor ou Cono-maur; mais en verité il y a si peu de fonds à faire sur les legendes, qui sont les seuls “memoires dont on pourroit tirer ce que l’on auroit, à en dire, qu’il vaut mieux s’en taire “tout à fait.” In i. 2, he mentions *Corsult*, as about a league from Dinan, and taking its appellation from the Curiosolites. *Domnonée* I have noticed in i. 2, before, from his i. 6.

in our region it was, the following notices clearly intimate. "From
 "S. Juste pille or creke," as Leland tells us in his minute description of
 Falmouth harbour, on the east, "to S. Manditus [Mauditus] creeke, is
 "a mile *dim.* The point of the land betwixt S. Just creke and S.
 "Maws, is of sum caullid Pendinas; on this point standith as yn the
 "entery of S. Maws creeke, a castelle or forteres late begon by the king.
 "This creke of S. Maws goith up a 2 miles by est north est into the
 "land—. Scant a quarter of a mile from the castel, on the same side,
 "upper into the land, is a praty village or fischar toun with a pere,
 "cawlid S. Maws; and there is a CHAPELLE of HYM, and HIS CHAIRE
 "OF STONE a litle without, and HIS WELLE. They caulle this saint
 "there S. MAT. . . .; he was A BISHOP IN BRITAIN, and [is] painted
 "as a schole-master*." The name of this saint is so disfigured by pro-
 vincial pronounciation, both in Bretagné and in Cornwall; that we should
 hardly recognise Maclovius in Machutus and Machu, if all the names
 were not used by the *same* biographer for the *same* person†, and
 should never believe St. Maudite, St. Mat, or St. Mawe of the island, to
 be the very Machu, Machutus, or Maclovius of the continent, if the
 former had not been averred to have been what we know the latter was,
a bishop in Bretagné. This stroke of traditional history rivets all the
 links of intelligence, into one chain. With this around us we recog-
 nise, we revere, the saint of Wales, and the prelate of Bretagné, as once
 a resident upon the shores of Cornwall, and at the side of Falmouth
 harbour. The well, the chair, and the chapel, like those of another
 saint upon another part of our coast, as I shall speedily shew‡, combine
 to mark the residence of the saint at the place. He came to CONSULT
 —in the "Damnonian region," in that half of it which is now called
 Cornwall, and in that part of this half which was then denominated
 Corsult, but is now the parish of St. Just§. In his way from Wales,

* Leland's Itin. iii. 29, 30.

† Leland's Coll. ii. 430-432: "Machutus—, S. Maclou—, Machutus—, Machu." This has occasioned an author, in Usher, 40, to make Machutus and Maclovius into different saints, and so to discriminate a man from himself.

‡ Section 7th of this chapter.

§ So we have *Carsella* in St. Dennis, and *Corsullan* in St. Kevern.

undoubtedly,

undoubtedly, when he had leisure for such a work, and *not* (as his biographer says) on some occasional return to Wales§, *when* he was too fully employed for such a business; he settled at a point of the seashore here, then all solitary in itself, and merely a long, sloping descent of rock to the water, with a broad lofty heath at the back of it, I believe, giving appellation to the whole||.

Thus settled, he was not, indeed, under the protection of king Gerennius himself, as then living in his castle about four miles from St. Mawes. From the collated chronology of the king and the saint, Gerennius appears to have been hardly yet born*. He was under the protection of some king *earlier* than Gerennius, his father probably, Gereint ap Erbyn. The existence of a well combined with the solitariness of the site, and with the warmth of a rocky bank facing the noon-day sun, to invite his settlement at this particular ground. There he lived as a hermit; forming himself a chair in the rock above the well for his enjoyment of the warm situation, in occasional surveys of the creek under him, of the harbour upon his right, and of the sea in front of the latter, then all assuredly as solitary almost as his very site itself.

Thence, however, the fame of his sanctity diffused itself over the neighbourhood, as we have previously seen it do in the vicinity of St. Maloe's;

§ Coll. ii. 432: "Machutus, patriam suam repetiturus, venit ad Corsult."

|| *Cor* (W.) is a moor, and *Sull* (C.) conspicuous. "So St. Michael's Mount was originally called in British *Din-sul*," says Borlase in his Scilly Isles, p. 60: yet (as I add) *not* "i. e. the hill belonging or dedicated to the sun," but with a meaning much nearer to the level of common sense, the Conspicuous Hill. The name of the *Sylley* Isles themselves, interpreted by Borlase, *ibid.* as *Sulleh* into flat rocks "of or dedicated to the sun," is derived merely from the national possessors of the isles, the Silures of Wales. (See my *Genuine Hist. of the Britons* asserted, p. 89, edit. 2d.) So little does etymology, under the guidance of good sense, appear what it is in the management of the generality, a mere meteor generated by a collision of atoms; but a light, sober and steady, a beam of the sun reflected by the moon, and usefully supplying the place of a stronger illumination!

* Machutus is said to have lived 133 years (Coll. ii. 432), yet died in 564 or 570; to have acted as bishop of Aleth for near forty years (431), and to have continued at Saintes seven years before he returned to Aleth (Usher, 277, 278).

the world of Christians *then* turning with attention and reverence to every character particularly religious, considering themselves only as citizens of earth for a few years, and habitually looking forward in their hopes or fears to another country, as their permanent habitation, as their everlasting residence. He thus became troubled probably with the resort of people to him, removed across the channel to find a more solitary situation, and settled in an uninhabited islet for the effectual preclusion of all visits. The shortness of the passage into France, and the known predominance of Christianity equally in Cornwall as in Wales, had, in all probability, brought him hither at first: and he *now* took the short passage which he had formerly intended to take, crossing over directly to the opposite shore of St. Maloe's. "Grefe islet," says Leland concerning what is denominated the Gray in our maps, and the Gull Rock in our conversation, a little to the east of St. Mawe's, "—lyith northe from "the *Forne*, a point or foreland in Britain," now *Le Four* to the east of Ushant, I believe, "*bytweene the wich is the enterie of the sleve of the "ocean; and betwixt Forne and Gref is a v. kennynge*," or a hundred miles in Leland's rate of estimation †; "and *here is brevissimus trajectus "by estimation, from Cornewalle into Britain continentes [continent]‡.*" Or, as a writer almost a century older says, "the isle of Greef is situated "in Cornwall, near the priory of monks of Trewardreth, near the town "of Fowey, three miles to the west; and the said isle lies *opposite to the "country of Bretagné, called Le Foorne*: and the isle of Ushant lies in "sea-board, or (to speak English) south and north, by the distance of the "breadth of the narrow sea, called otherwise the Channel of Flan- "ders, by the space of five kenynge; and *every kennyng contains seven "leagues, that is, one and twenty miles*; from which they are 105 "miles §." After his removal, the hermitage, the chair, and the well, appear

† Leland's Itin. iii. 19: "Scylley is a kenning, that is to say, about a xx miles," now twenty-seven, "from the very westeste pointe of Cornewaulle."

‡ Itin. iii. 30. In vii. 120, it is thus mentioned also: "In the mydde way betwene "Falemuth and Dudman is an islet or rok berying gresse, cawled Grefe, a ii acres abowt," now hardly one; "but standyng yn the middes, torring up right; ther bredeth yn the isle "se fowle."

§ Itinerar. Willelmi de Worcestre, p. 110: "Insula de Greef scita est in Cornubiâ, "juxta

appear to have been visited and admired for his sake, the admiration of his character naturally attaching to every object connected with it, and the body being honoured from respect to the soul that lately inhabited it. After he was dead and sainted, this admiration of course rose into reverence, the well was visited in greater crowds, the chair was viewed with deeper respect, and the hermitage was entered with devouter awe. This gave a commencement to the town, the votaries of the sainted hermit settling in houses around his hermitage, and the hermitage itself being reconstructed into a chapel for their devotions. Thus continued all to the Reformation, the reverence having its foundation in religion, and the devoutness rearing its head towards heaven; when, amidst the many blessings attendant upon that revolution in the church, one evil prevailed in slighting the characters of the saints; in withdrawing the honours paid to their names, even in dilapidating or desecrating the fanes dedicated to their memories. *At* the Reformation the well was still attended with a respect that was called, and perhaps had mounted into, superstition; the chair still remained all of solid stone in the cemetery of the chapel, reported even then by tradition to have been *frequently* used by the saint; and the chapel itself still exhibited a portrait of its patron, "painted as a schoolmaster," in the loose gown, I believe, still worn frequently by schoolmasters in the north of England, yet equally worn by clergymen of the north or south in their studies at present ||.

"juxta prioratum monachorum de Trewdreth, juxta villam de Fowey, per tria milliaria ex parte occidentali; et dicta insula jacet ex opposito patriæ Britanniae, vocatæ Le Foorne. Et insula Ushand jacet in le seeboord, Anglicè, south et north, per distanciam latitudinis de le narrow see vocatum aliter Le Channel de Flaunders, per spacium v. kennyngys; et quilibet kennyng continet vii leucas, id est, 21 milliaria; unde sunt cv milliaria. Hæc habentur per informacionem Roberti Bracey, consanguinei mei, apud Fowey." *Crib, Greab* (C.), is the comb of a bird. "Hence the rocks, called the *Crebs* in many places, for that they appear like the comb of a cock at low water." (Pryce.) Hence *crib an tshyi* (C.) the *ridge* of a house; and hence also the *Greeb*, one headland in Gerens parish, a little to the west, and another near Porthluny to the east, of the Greef, Gref, or Gray.

|| Leland's Itin. ix. xxii. "Fanum Mauditi;" xxxv. "Sainte Maws;" p. 84, "Mauditi Castrum, vulgò Sainte Mawes—. Incolæ ostentant in cœmiterio, fano adjacenti, cathedram ex solido saxo, quâ frequenter sedebat, fontemque superstitione celebrem."

But

But now, when the “praty village or fischar toun with a pere” has been exalted into a parliamentary borough, as it was for the first time in the 5th of Elizabeth ¶; being then probably in the *fee* what it still is in the *royalty*, as it probably was during the days of St. Machu or St. Mawe, the property of the crown; and Elizabeth, from her political foresight of the ascending scale in the balance of our constitution, wisely securing the right of suffrage for the *royal* towns or villages; almost all is gone. A craving spirit of venality, once implanted in the breast, and always to be fed with the rapine of elections, superinduces a gross, grovelling earthliness of soul, that is brutally forgetful of the past, brutally hostile to all memorials of it, and brutally gratified only by the paltry present. Only the well appears cut deeply in the living rock, on the right of the road into the village; running endlong into the heart of the rock, arched over for its whole length, and faced with a slightly peaked arch of stone. The water is good, but rather hard; and the fountain is still denominated pre-eminently above others that are in the village, St. Mawe’s Well. Close to it on the south, but lower on the descent of the hill, was the chapel, well known by tradition to have been such, and reported by that tradition to have *fallen into ruins*, before the aged-seeming stones were worked up again into the present dwelling-house. Some of these stones are said from their quality to have been brought, with the stones in the doors and windows of the parish-church about a mile to the north, St. Just’s, from a quarry near St. Austle, fifteen or sixteen miles off*. A pillar about three feet long, and multangular in its form, now lies as the corner-stone of the house against the fall of the hill. Another of the same size

¶ Willis, ii. 166-170.

* This is the same quarry, I presume, which is mentioned by Leland’s Itin. iii. 31, thus: “There is a fair quarre of whit fre stone on the shore betwixt Pentowen and Blak-hed, “whereof sum be usid in the inward partes of S. [Mawes] forteresse; and Pendinas castelle “is of the same stone, except the wallinge.” It is also noticed by Carew thus, “Pentuan “[stone] digged out of the sea cliffes, and in colour somewhat resembleth gray marble” (p. 6); and by Norden, as “the best free stone that Cornwall yealdeth, and the moste of “the churches and towres therabout were buylded of them” (p. 61). And this circumstance accounts for what nothing else can account for, the strange position of St. Just’s church with its parsonage at the bottom of the bank shelving down to an arm of Falmouth harbour, even on the very brink of the water.

and form is remembered to have been used in the walls; with a third, reported at the time to be the font, but having no bason on it for the baptismal water, and being therefore the mere pillar of the font. Upon the floor of the house still remains the pavement of the chapel, covered over (in the growing tenderness of the times) with a new floor of boards, but known to be a blue stone cut very nicely into squares. On the north side of the house, the ancient wall of it remained pretty entire within these few years, and had a small window in a Gothic arch of stone curiously wrought. Over the well, along the northern side of the chapel, and two or three yards above the level of it, was the chapel-yard; still remaining in an open area above the well itself, but built upon for the remainder. The buildings, however, were raised within memory, and human bones were dug up in laying the foundations. These buildings are styled in their leases expressly the chapel-yard tenement, and the house adjoining is styled as expressly the chapel tenement; both belonging to one person, Mr. Buller, to whose ancestors (I suppose) they were given at the Reformation †; and both being for that reason, as not equally with the rest of the village in the fee of the crown, shut out cunningly by Elizabeth, as they still continue, from the pale of the borough. But the stone-chair and the portrait of the saint have been so long demolished, that tradition knows nothing concerning either. They were therefore destroyed probably, not indeed in the first paroxysm of reformation under Henry VIII. as Leland then could not have seen them, but in that second which took place soon afterwards under Edward and Elizabeth ‡, deriving strength from the first, shewing an additional violence, and threatening destruction to all literature, all religion, all Christianity, among us; till the church of England arose like a phoenix from the ashes of its parent, and almost as miraculously, to restore literature, to re-establish religion, and to re-invigorate Christianity; to last therefore (I hope and trust) as long as Christianity itself lasts in our

† Tanner knows nothing about the chapel, except that he strangely supposes it to be St. Matthew's; and then says what directly refutes his supposition, that "St. Mawes appears in the Exeter Registers—, to be no other than a corruption of St. Mauduit's." See his *Cornwall*, No. xvii.

‡ See sec. 7th.

isle, and then to enshrine her remains in the temple of Religious Fame for ever. Thus, in strict propriety, the well is all that we see at present of St. Mawe's memorials here. So much longer is preserved by man, what ministers to his bodily necessities, than what refers to his spiritual wants: what serves the petty ends of *this* short *day* of our being, than what promotes the awful purposes of an *eternity* in the *next*. So much too is the genius of this borough-village altered, from what it originally was; that its inhabitants are turned from being the just admirers, the religious reverers, of their sainted hermit, into men unconscious of his merits, ignorant even of his existence, and staring in amazement at any inquiries concerning him or his §.

§ Mr. Willis, in ii. 168, says, "there being more towns of this name in Cornwall, it may puzzle the greatest pretender to antiquities, unacquainted in this country, to distinguish them," when the main assertion is astonishingly false, there being no other town, village, or place, so called except this; "as well as discourage an indifferent person, disappointed in receiving any satisfaction from his repeated inquiries." The inhabitants of St. Mawe's thus appear to have been eighty years ago, just as they are now, incurious and unknown. Yet they had knowledge and curiosity enough, as I find from a notice latent in additions to Mr. Willis's volume at the end, to inform him at last, "there is a place *call'd a chapel* near a well in the town, now dwelling-houses." (P. 544.) But Mr. Willis has principally erred, in preferring the false and dubious account of Itin. ix. 84, to the true and certain one of iii. 30.—In Hals's time was observed, at St. Mawe's, "an annuall faire on Friday next after Luke's day" (Hals's MS.), which day is the 18th of October. Yet St. Machutus's day is in the Gallican martyrology the 15th of November (Cressy, 253), and is equally so in our own calendars. That is the parish-feast of St. Just, held on the Sunday next after St. Luke's day; held for some years past at Midsummer by the borough, in consequence of a shoal of pilchards being lost from the absence of the boatmen at the feast in the *church-town*; but always observed in October by the parish, and now beginning to be re-observed in October by the borough.—Yet let me add, in justice to the inhabitants of St. Mawe's, and in compensation for what I have said against them; that, however incurious, however unknowing, they may now be concerning their own antiquities and history, they are particularly eminent as pilots; pushing out in their boats to any vessel in want of their aid, with a boldness that is often strained into rashness, but with a skill that often turns their rashness into just confidence, yet too often with a fortune that buries their confidence or their rashness in the ocean. Many are the families that have lost a father, a brother, or a son, in this employ, so necessary in itself at the mouth of such a very frequented harbour as Falmouth, so useful in its operations upon the ships coming to it, and so gainful in its rewards to themselves.

SECTION VI.

THIS incident carries us back a considerable way *towards* the *heart* of the sixth century, even *into* or *above* it. But I shall reproduce an incident now, that will lead us back to the very *commencement* of this century. I have previously noticed SAINT PETROCK to have landed at Padstow in the year 518 ||; and I now mean to apply the fact, as a proof of the predominance of Christianity in Cornwall at the time.

St. Petrock came not, as Dr. Borlase in all this sleeping part of his history dreams, “to preach the Gospel,” or to “labour in the word of “God ¶.” He came only to sequester himself from the world, to retire into some solitude of Cornwall, and to resign himself up to all the uninterrupted abstractedness of devotion*. That indeed he, who was a native of Cumberland, and had been a student for twenty years in Ireland, should seek for a solitude in any other country, seems extraordinary to reason, when reason is not influenced by fancy. But in such a plan of sequestration from the world, however religious, however dignified, however angelic, in the spirit proposing it; yet fancy has a considerable influence. The more remotely the scene of solitude is fixed from places familiar to the mind, the more completely it seems to answer the wishes of a soul, aspiring to throw off the impediments of common society, to rise above the gross atmosphere of common conversation, and to mount up into the pure æther of a contemplation of angels, a contemplation of God, even an awful union with *them* in the adoration of *HIM*. Cowley, we all know, when he wanted to withdraw from the world on motives not so high set as these, had once formed a scheme of burying himself in the wilds of America; yet actually found a solitude sufficient for all his purposes, a *sepulchre* for the *living* bard, in the very neighbourhood of London, and at the very village of Chertsey. But we see this reasoning still more powerfully confirmed, by a still stronger incident of

|| Chap. i. sect. 2d.

¶ Borlase, 372, 380.

* Camden therefore says, 140, that he in Cornwall “Deo vacavit.”

antiquity itself, by men relinquishing this very Ireland for the sake of *holy* seclusion from their relatives, and actually coming into Cornwall, *when* Christianity is confessed by Dr. Borlase himself to have been fully established over the whole of *his* region of persisting druidism. In 891, says the Saxon Chronicle, “three Scots came to Alfred the king from Ireland, in one boat without any rowers [without any sails]; they had “*stolen away* from Ireland, *because they would for the love of God go abroad, they cared not whither.* The boat, in which they put out, was “made of two hides and a half; and they took with them meat for seven “days; and they came in seven days to land *among the Cornish*; and “they went soon to Alfred the king. They were thus named, Dubslane, “and Macbeth, and Maelinmun †.” With this spirit, but under a soberer impulse of it, St. Petrock came from Ireland to Cornwall, landed at Padstow, and removed to Bodmin; preached not, and attempted not to preach, to the inhabitants of the country, any more than Cowley meant to have preached to the natives of America, or than Maelinmun, Macbeth, and Dubslane, meant to preach to the Cornish or the Saxons; but sequestered himself immediately with his three companions, in a solitary valley at Bodmin, and in the hermitage of St. Guron there ‡. This fact implies of itself, that the Gospel had been already “preached” in Cornwall, that “the word of God” had been already adopted there, and that the Cornish were known in Ireland, to have been already folded under some shepherd or bishop of Christianity; when, indeed, the remote Britons of Ireland had all been, it is a strange paradox in antiquarianism to suppose, and a most ridiculous solecism in history to assert, that the neighbouring Britons of Cornwall had not been. But the very incident of St. Petrock’s visit, *even according to Dr. Borlase himself*, proves they had. He landed at Padstow, *as the Doctor intimates*, and actually found a CHURCH there, of which we have the very name preserved by the Doctor, *Laffenac*. It is very amazing, in truth, that Dr. Borlase *should* acknowledge this fact, when it is so subversive of all which he has just spoken, concerning St. Petrock coming “to preach the Gospel” among the Cornish, and to “labour in the word of God,” by converting the

† Sax. Chron. and Florence, 328, “sine velo.”

‡ See chap. i. sect. 3, before.

Cornish to it. Yet he even enters into an explanation of the name, and interprets it in a manner equally subversive of his preceding positions; resolving it either into *Lan Menek* the church of stone, or into *Lan Manach* the church of monks §. On either interpretation, the Doctor confesses a church to have been existing at Padstow for the public devotions of Christianity, at the very time that St. Petrock landed in the port, even as early as the year 518. And the interpretations given unite with the fact confessed, to prove against the Doctor the public profession of Christianity in Cornwall, long before St. Petrock came into the country; even to refute *from himself* his own assertions concerning the design of St. Petrock's coming, in the fullest, the closest, and the most pointed manner. Never before, I almost believe, was

An eagle, towering in its pride of place,
brought down so decisively from its flight towards the sun, by an arrow feathered from its own wing.

Yet the Doctor is even more contradictory to himself than I have shewn him to be. He not merely refutes by a fact, what he has asserted in particular concerning St. Petrock; but even annihilates all that he has maintained in general, of the continuance of druidism “during all the “*fifth*, and most of the *sixth*, centuries.” Both general and particular he unconsciously sweeps away together, by averring this church which St. Petrock found at Padstow in 518, to have been even “erected by St. “Patrick in the year 432 ||.” So very inconsistent can a little confusedness of understanding make a man! He actually appeals in form to

§ Borlase, 379, 380: “The first religious house that we read of [as] founded in Cornwall, was that—called anciently—Laffenac; either from the church's being built with “stone—[quasi Lan-menek],—or—quasi Lan-manach, the church of the monks.—The “town was afterwards—called—Padstow—. *Saint Petrock—settled in the same house.*” P. 372: “He *settled in a monastery, called before his time—Laffenek.*”

|| Borlase, 379. A note says, “*probably* the same that St. Patrick had founded in the “year 432.” But the text maintains its usual tone of confidence, and speaks without hesitation of “the monastery erected by St. Patrick, and that which St. Petrock afterwards lived “and taught in.”

Usher, for St. Patrick's erection of a church in Cornwall under that year; citing his very words thus, " 'where (to wit, in Cornwall) and at St. David's they report him to have built a monastery' ¶." His appeal only serves to aggravate his inconsistency. The *erection* of a *church*, the *construction* of a *monastery*, is certainly a decisive evidence for the public profession of Christianity in the country.

I mean not, however, to raise the temple of truth upon the pillars of falsehood. Dr. Borlase is here as unjust as he is inconsistent, and alleges Usher for what he never says, or means to say; Usher never asserting himself, never referring to others as asserting, that St. Patrick, about 432, built a monastery in Cornwall. Usher only refers to some as saying, that St. Patrick, in his way from France to Ireland, "tarried awhile among the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, where, even at Saint David's, they report him to have built a monastery *." This is the clear, the literal import of the Latin words in Usher, and the specification of St. David's shews it to be the certain one: yet Dr. Borlase, with a schoolboy's poverty of ideas in interpretation, considers St. David's as *not* included in Wales, *but* opposed to Cornwall; so believes, or pretends to believe, one monastery erected at St. David's in Wales, and another at some unspecified place in Cornwall. He thus shews his judgment warped and bent and distorted, by the false fires of a local antiquary; a sacrifice being made by him of all understanding, upon the mean, the mud-formed altar of local attachments. Had the Doctor turned from the index back to the work, pursued the references in *that*, and examined the testimonies in *this*; a task, imposed surely upon every citer of every book, yet as easy in its execution as it is requisite in itself; he would then have found that Anselm, the only relator of St. Patrick's visit to *Cornwall*, says not one word of his erecting a church, or of his building a monastery, *there*; and that the only monastery or church, which Usher's witnesses affirm St. Patrick to have built, was not in Cornwall, but (as the language of his

¶ Borlase, 379, in a note: " 'Ubi (in Cornubiâ scil.) et Meneviæ cœnobium construxisse ferunt.' Usher, p. 1100."

* Usher, 516: "Apud Britannos in partibus Cornubiæ et Cambriæ, ubi, et Meneviæ, cœnobium eum construxisse ferunt, aliquamdiu substitisse traditur."

index denotes) at St. David's in Wales †. So very careless could Dr. Borlase be in writing a work, which has been exalted by the praises of men just about the same level of intellect with himself, as one of the most satisfactory histories of a county that ever was written. Dr. Borlase, indeed, does not ever mislead us by any meteorous flashes of genius; seldom darts upon us, with even the bright effulgence of an Italian sun; but commonly moves, like the generality of our British suns, behind a transparent screen of clouds ‡. Yet for such a luminary to fail us egregiously, to carry the delusiveness without the blaze of a meteor, or to be frequently wrapt up in darkness with hardly one eruption of radiance, is very extraordinary. The great virtues of Dr. Borlase, as a writer, ought to be fidelity and judiciousness; but, as we see in all this portion of his history, his fidelity is frequently violated, and his judiciousness is more frequently betrayed, by the perfidious impotence of his prejudices. The fact is, that St. Patrick (as far as historical testimony goes) never was in Cornwall, and (as far as probability weighs against weak evidence) never was in Wales also. I shall therefore take no advantage of Dr. Borlase's concessions at one time, so contrary to his assertions at another. I have noticed them, to shew him to my readers in his assumed dress, and to exhibit him in what I must unwillingly call his fool's coat of many colours. But, having done this, I shall rest my own history upon better ground, upon ground firm in itself, and reaching in its foundations to the centre.

† See particularly Usher, 439: "Qui—Davidio Menevensis vitam descripsere, Ricemarchus Sulgeni filius, Giraldus Cambrensis, et Johannes Tinmuthensis, Patricium Vallem Rosinam sive Meneviam in Cambria—sedem sibi eligere voluisse, atque ab eo portu (mutato postea consilio) in Hiberniam trajecisse asserunt."

‡ Once he writes so agreeably, that I cannot but produce the passage to my reader, though it be in another work. "Shall we attribute this variation" in the forms of mundic, and in their similarity to plants, to animals, to fancy-formed figures, or to the objects of science, "to a plastic power superintending the congress of fossils, and sporting itself with natural or preternatural representations; or shall we rather say, that the Great Power, which contrived and made all things, needing no delegate, artfully throws the flexible, liquid materials of the fossil kingdom into various figures, to draw the attention of mankind to his works, and thence lead them, first to the acknowledgment, then to the adoration of an Intelligent Being, inexhaustibly wise, good, and glorious? Doubtless these are the works of that same Lover of shape, colour, and uniformity, that paints the peacock's train, that veins the onyx, that streaks the zebra." (Nat. Hist. 142.)

When St. Petrock landed at Padstow about 518, he certainly found a CHURCH there, and he certainly found it denominated LAFFENAC §. Here therefore we find Christianity openly professed, worship openly paid to our Lord, even a temple openly erected for him, and this, in the very spirit of the ages avowedly Christian, lending its own appellation to the town itself ||. We thus see our religion happily triumphing in Cornwall, so early as the year 518, so much earlier indeed as the church was old in that year; and displaying its victorious banners in the erection of churches, in the imposition of sainted names upon them, in the very denomination of towns and parishes from them. Yet, with all this evidence before us, Dr. Borlase contrives to pick up some suggestions that shall indulge his own attachment to the doctrines of druidism, and still maintain the *honour* of Cornwall in continuing its devotion to them. “When St. Petrock came *last* to visit the Cornish Britans about the middle of the sixth century, A. D. 557,” says the Doctor,—“Tendurus, a man of a savage and cruel disposition, and *probably* a *heathen*, was king ¶.”

The “last” visit of St. Petrock is thus dated about 557, and the first about 518; because the saint is described by John of Tinmouth, in a rambling disposition that is all incompatible with a studious life of twenty years in Ireland before, and an hermitical life of thirty afterwards in

§ Camden, 140: “Padstow—contractè pro Petrockstow (ut in Sanctorum Historiis legitur) a Petroco quòdam Britannico inter sanctos relato, qui hìc Deo vacavit; cùm antea—Laffenac vocaretur.” The meaning of the name *Laffenac*, I believe, is the latter of the two significations suggested by Dr. Borlase, *Lan Manach*, or the church of monks. So *Bodmanach* appears varied in pronounciation into *Bod-venah* (Borlase, 379). And, by that suppression of the letter *n* in pronounciation also, which runs equally through the Latin, the English, and the British; forming *Convenientia* into *Covenant*, *Conventus* into *Covent* or *Coventry*, or *Covent-garden*, *Lan Moran*, or *Lan Mabe*, or *Lanrake*, or *Penryn*, the names of three parishes and one town in Cornwall, with the analogous *Penrith* in Cumberland, into *Lamorran*, or *Lavabe*, or *Larake*, or *Pe-ryn*, or *Pe-rith* (Leland’s Itin. iii. 28, vii. 120, vii. 60); and is therefore noted at times in writing, by a mere stroke over the two letters adjoining; *Lan Manach* would melt in pronounciation into *Lawenec*, the name of a parish now in Cornwall, *Lavennec*, like *Bod-venah* for *Bodmin*, and *Laffenac*, the name of the church at Padstow.

|| Camden, 140: “Padstow—antea—*Laffenac* vocaretur.”

¶ Borlase, 408 and 372.

Cornwall, to have gone away for Rome, &c. Nor is he pretended to have set out for Rome, as Dr. Borlase, in his desire to disguise the strange incompatibility of the incident with his former life, ventures to insinuate, because Rome was “the chief university of the empire *,” but merely because it was in his way to *Jerusalem*. This city he is pretended to have visited from it; though the visit is totally suppressed by the Doctor, now beginning to shrink from the incredible tale, now refusing to proceed any farther with it †. The saint is even said by the same biographer, to the amazement (I doubt not) of all my readers, to have pushed on from Jerusalem as far as the *East Indies*, to have lived a solitary hermit in an island there for seven years, and then to have returned to his three disciples in his hermitage at Bodmin ‡. St. Petrock therefore must have been about SEVENTY years of age, when he *set out* on this astonishing expedition, and more than SEVENTY-SEVEN when he again *set out* on his return; at such an advanced period of life travelling so many thousand miles forward, to enjoy—what he was enjoying at Bodmin, and travelling so many thousand miles back again, to enjoy—what he had been thirty years enjoying at Bodmin before. This, this, with the gross contradictoriness of all to a life of fifty years spent in studious or religious sequestration, is sufficient to annihilate the credibility of the whole story; framed as it is from that flimsy texture of authority, the fabulous John of Tinmouth. This, indeed, is so flimsy, even in the opinion of Usher, that he has fixed *his* broad arrow of condemnation upon the story; adding thus at the close of the whole, “if we can give credit to these narrations “of John Tinmouth §.” But Leland, who has written an account of St. Petrock, and whose accuracy of information is equalled only by his fidelity of relation, totally omits all these eccentric adventures; thus purges the biography, of what is very degrading to the character; and makes the saint to pay only *one* visit into Cornwall, to come, to stay, to die there ||.

St.

* Borlase, 372.

† Borlase, 372: “After paying a visit to *Rome*, he *returned into Cornwall*.”

‡ Usher, 292.

§ Usher, 292: “Si Johannis Tinmuthensis narrationibus fides sit adhibenda.”

|| Leland De Script. Brit. 61. In Leland's Itin. viii. 54, we have these extracts made by

St. Petrock, however, adds his lying biographer, on his return into Cornwall found “Tendurus reigning there, a man fierce and savage in his manners ¶.” Dr. Borlase *therefore* supposes him to have been “probably a heathen;” with a compliment unintended, I believe, to the humanizing powers of Christianity, which I wish was *always* just; but with a design certainly of wresting the quality of the character, to the purposes of his own hypothesis. The Doctor, too, *supposes* him a heathen, when his argument requires he should *prove* him one; he having undertaken to prove what we have seen him assume before, that, from the attachment of the Cornish to their druidism, “in the latter end of the fourth, during all the fifth, and most part of the sixth centuries, we find so many holy men employed to *convert* the Cornish to the Christian religion.” But suppositions are more ready instruments of action than proofs; and, eager in his work, the Doctor took the tools that he could most promptly find. Yet either suppositions or proofs must have equally failed him here. That this sovereign was no heathen, all the circumstances of the history demonstrate. When St. Petrock landed in 518, he not only found a church erected at Padstow, found a hermit living at Bodmin, and fixed himself there as a hermit with three others, but lived with them there for thirty years together. During his residence there, and early in it probably, he found that “in the very

by Leland “Ex Vitâ Petroci ‘Petrocus *Romam* petiit, Petrocus Româ reversus est ad suum monasterium in Cornubiâ’.” These assert the excursion of St. Petrock from Bodmin to Rome, but deny the farther excursion to Jerusalem, the still farther to the Indies, and the settlement for seven years in an Indian island. This life therefore appears to have been the groundwork for all Tinmouth’s account; the coloured canvass, on which he boldly sketched his extravagant portrait. He found the expedition to Rome there, and with all the rash dexterity of a forger extended it to Jerusalem, to the East Indies, to the island there. Yet that both the life and the additions were equally fabulous, and were considered as equally fabulous by Leland himself, is apparent from Leland’s own life of St. Petrock; in which he has omitted equally the journey to Rome, and the peregrination to the East. There were frequently, I believe, *two* lives of a saint, one fabulous, the other genuine. This was the case particularly with Petrock; and Leland, who met with the genuine after he had made extracts from the fabulous, rejected *this* as fabulous, and drew up his life from *that* as genuine.

¶ Usher, 292: “Tendurus, vir atrox et ferus moribus.”

“neighbourhood one SAMSON, conspicuous like Petrock for his piety, “had chosen himself a place, in which he lived as a hermit” too *; his hermitage being in the present parish of Gullant or Glant assuredly, as to St. Sampson the church there is dedicated, and as the ecclesiastical appellation of the parish is St. Sampson’s †. This incident unites with all before, to shew Christianity, and not druidism, the religion of the country at the *beginning* of the sixth century. Nor is Tendurus a heathen, even upon the face of Tinmouth’s own history. The very continuance of St. Petrock’s cell under him, the very return of St. Petrock to it, and the very residence of St. Petrock in it till his death, all prove he is not. Even the very silence of the biographer, in not noticing the heathenism when he notices the savageness, again proves he is not. So completely false is the Doctor’s supposition in every view of it!

But indeed the biographer has injured the king, and transposed the history; mentioning Tendurus as king on the pretended return of St. Petrock, when Teudurus, as his name *should* be written, was actually king at his first landing, and when as king he actually shewed great civility to St. Petrock. “When Petrock was come to maturity of years,” notes Leland in his useful abstract of his life, “he left his country, and “sailed with a fair gale to Ireland. There, glowing with an uncommon “degree of fondness for studies, he had the most learned teachers; nor “did he desist from the work, before he had spent the whole of twenty “years in the perusal of good authors. The treasure, collected by this “laborious attention to knowledge, was found at last; and, that it might “be no longer concealed, the finder transported the treasures of Ireland “into Cornwall, and exhibited them conspicuously to all: *at that time,* “*two petty kings reigned in Cornwall,* celebrated in fame, THEODORE and “Constantine; by the *liberality* and *piety* of *both whom* being assisted,

* Usher, 292: “In proximâ viciniâ Samson quidam, sanctitate item conspicuus, sedem sibi elegerat, in quâ solitariam vitam duceret.”

† Omitted in the first Valor, as a part of the parish of Tywardreth, probably; it is thus mentioned in the second, “St. Sampson’s, alias Golant, or Glant, Cur. Pri. Tywardreth “Prop.” It is also called “S. Sampson,” or “S. Sampson’s,” in an ancient rate for the payment of fifteenths in Cornwall. (Carew, 91 and 95)

“ he received a place very fit for building a monastery,—to which the
 “ monks gave the name of *Bosmanach* in their native language *.” Here
 then the whole air of mystery is dissipated, the enchantment raised by
 that falsifying magician the biographer is dissolved, and the history shews
 itself in all the colours of reality. Christianity, not druidism, was the
 religion of the country at St. Petrock’s visit to it; the saint of Cumber-
 land, with his three companions from Ireland, was well received by
 Theodore and Constantine, *that* the father having relinquished the activi-
 ties of government to *this* the son, though still retaining the rights of a
 sovereign with the precedence of a parent; and had land allotted imme-
 diately for his hermitage, by *this* king acting in the name of *that*. The
 appellation of Tendurus therefore appears to be nothing more than the
 mistake of the eye for Teudurus, Tudor, or Theodore. Only Tinmouth
 has made one blunder additional to all, in confounding this Constantine of
 St. Petrock, who was reigning the assessor of his father in 518, with the
 Constantine of Gildas, who was reigning by himself in 564; in con-
 founding “ the very pious father noticed by Gildas, with the profligate
 and murderous son mentioned by him; and in so laying upon the head of
 Theodore as the principal in the sovereignty, what was meant for the
 mistaken assessor in it †. Thus has he attributed that “ fierceness and
 “ savageness

* Leland De Script. Brit. 61: “ Ubi maturos pervenerat ad annos, relictâ patriâ, in Hi-
 “ berniam secundis ventis navigavit. Ibi, studiorum insolito quôdam conflagrans amore,
 “ præceptores eximiè doctos excoluit; nec manum priùs de tabulâ sustulit, quàm totos vi-
 “ ginti annos in lectione bonorum autorum exegisset. Quæsitus hâc laboriosâ scientiæ the-
 “ saurus curâ, tandem inventus est; qui jam ne deliteret, inventor Hibernicas gazas in Co-
 “ riniam transtulit, et videndas omnibus exhibuit. Regnabant eo in Coriniâ sæculo, duo
 “ reguli, famâ celebres, Theodorus et Constantinus; quorum cum liberalitate tum pietate
 “ adjutus, locum condendo aptissimum monasterio—accepit, cui nomen patriâ linguâ *Bos-*
 “ *manach* a monachis inditum.”

† Gildas’s *history* was written, as he tells us himself in c. xxvi. forty-four years after the
 battle of Badon, or in the year 564 (Usher, 526, 527, 532); and his *epistle* the same year,
 “ hâc anno” (Gale, i. 18). *This* therefore “ found” Constantine, *not* (as Dr. Borlase says,
 408) “ in the year 583,” but nineteen years preceding. It found him, and (as tradition re-
 ports) brought him to a just sense of his profligacy. “ Unum ex iis [regibus],” says
 Gale, i. præfatio ad lectorem, “ ad sanam mentem revocavit; nam in quôdam chronico
 “ Cambrico legi de Constantino quem Gildas increpuit, ‘ Conversio Constantini ad Domi-
 “ num’.”

“savageness of manners” to Theodore, to which he has probably no right, and of which very much certainly belongs to the younger Constantine; giving those qualities to the grandfather, which the grandson had alone, but which even the grandson himself had not at the time assigned, the arrival of St. Petrock. That assassinator of two youths in the very temple of God, at the very altar of God, under the very robes of the officiating abbot, and in the very arms of their mother there*; that man therefore, who was very truly “fierce and savage in his manners;” whom Dr. Borlase in strict consistency must therefore believe to be a heathen, even though we find with him a very temple of God, a very altar of God, and a very abbot officiating in his robes; even he was not yet born probably. His “very pious father” was yet a mere associate with *his* father, in the toils of government; and with him the protector, the patron, the friend of St. Petrock, as well as St. Petrock’s three companions†. So

“num’.” Dr. Borlase accordingly considers him as a saint, and even (in his wild way of making martyrs, borrowed, however, from the Romish calendar without any acknowledgment) a very martyr for the Gospel. (*Itinerar. Wⁱ de Worcestre*, p. 107, “*Sanctus Constantinus rex et martir.*”) Gildas’s epistle, adds Dr. Borlase, “made such an impression on him, that he turned monk—He is supposed to have suffered martyrdom, and is *therefore* reckoned a saint. We have a church dedicated to him.” (P. 408.) That he suffered martyrdom as a Christian, it is ridiculous to suppose; when he had been himself a king professing Christianity, and when his subjects were all Christians. (Gildas, 18.) He must have been the son too of St. Petrock’s Constantine, that “*piissimus pater*” of the Constantine of Gildas. (P. 18, 19.)

* Gildas, 18: “*In duarum venerandis matrum sinibus, ecclesiæ carnalisque, sub sancti abbatis amphibalo,—inter ipsa—sacrosancta altaria,*” &c.

† How Constantine the king became a martyr, we know not. He certainly could not become one, in the just sense of the word. He was killed therefore by some one in his retirement, out of resentment for the past. But where was his retirement? Not, as we naturally suppose at first, in the parish denominated from him. At the church of this parish was no “religious house,” as Dr. Borlase, misled by Tanner, supposes there was. (P. 390.) The very words of Doomsday Book, cited by him to prove there was, prove there was none. “*Sanctus Constantinus*,” a language appropriated to a church merely parochial, while the collegiate or conventual church is distinguished by the addition of “*Clerici*,” or “*Canonici*,” of the saint, “*habet dimidium hidæ terræ*,” &c. And the Valor of pope Nicholas concurs, noticing “*ecclesia Sancti Constantini*” just as it notices all merely parochial churches. But at another point of Cornwall was it, that Constantine lived as a hermit, even

at

So completely have we proved, in opposition to seming authority, in contradiction to gross falsehoods carrying the forged stamp of authority upon them; that, when St. Petrock landed in Cornwall about the year 518, he landed in a country all Christian, inhabited by Christian subjects, governed by Christian kings, replenished with hermitages, churches, and monasteries of Christianity *.

SECTION VII.

YET let us trace the current of Dr. Borlase's evidences a little higher up the channel of time, and mount along the channel nearly to the very point of Germanus's visit into Cornwall.

"Fingarus," Guigner, or Gwinear, says the Doctor (as we have seen before), "with his sister Piala, eleven bishops, and a numerous attendance, all baptized [and some even consecrated] by St. Patrick, came into Cornwall, and, landing at the mouth of the river Hayle, was there put to death *in the year* 460, with all his company, by Theodorick king of Cornwall, for fear lest they should turn his subjects from their ancient religion." But, as he also subjoins immediately, "*about the same*

at St. Merin near Padstow. There, and there only, "is yet extant *Saint Constantine's Well*, strong built of stone, and arched over;" as near it are "the ruines of an old church, chapel, and cemitery pertayninge therto, dedicated to St. Constantine;" a chapel (I presume) to Padstow, as St. Merin is no parish in pope Nicholas's Valor; the original chapel of the district, as tradition points its finger at it for the original church of the parish; and a chapel nearly buried now in the encroaching waves of the sea. (Hals's MS.)

* At i. 3, before, I have shewn in opposition to a prevailing error, that St. Petrock at his death was buried, not at Padstow, but at Bodmin. In confirmation of this I now add, that his three companions appear also to have been buried at Bodmin. "Extat Petroburgi libellus de sepulturâ sanctorum Anglorum, ex quo liquet *Credanum*," not the denominator of *Creed* church near Grampound, which is called "*ecclesia Sanctæ Credæ*" in pope Nicholas's Valor, "*Medanum, et Dachunum, viros sanctitate vitæ illustres, et Petroci imitatores, in Bosmanach fuisse sepultos.*" (De Script. Brit. 61.) See also that very book, in extracts made by Coll. i. 10; "S. Petrocus, S. Credanus, S. Medanus, et S. Dachuna vir, in Botraeme," Bodmin, "in Cornubiâ."

"time

“ *time* came over from Ireland St. BREACA (now called Breâg) attended
 “ with many saints, among whom were SINNINUS,” alias Senanus, says a
 note, “ the abbot, who had been at Rome with Patrick, GERMOCHUS, an
 “ Irish king (as tradition says), and several others. She landed at Revyer
 “ on the eastern bank of the river Hayle, in the hundred of Penwith,
 “ where Theodorick (or Tudor) had his castle of residence, and slew
 “ great part of *this* holy assembly *also**.” To the first part of this account
 I have replied already, and shall hereafter reply again†. But I mean to
 answer the last at present.

This, however, referring to no authority, I considered it for some
 time as capable of no refutation. Secure in its own airiness of sub-
 stance, I cried, it bids defiance to all criticism;

For it is, as the air, invulnerable,

And our vain blows malicious mockery.

But I afterwards discovered the evidence, upon which the Doctor
 grounds his relation; though, either wilfully or negligently, he sup-
 presses all acknowledgment of it. In Leland's Itinerary we have some
 extracts out of a life of Breaca, which are the more valuable because
 the life is since lost, I believe, and are the very foundations of the
 Doctor's edifice. I shall produce them, in order to destroy his edifice,
 and to expose the mode of architecture in which he has presumed to
 build upon them. “ Breaca,” says the cited biographer concerning one
 who had been in the nunnery of St. Brigid, within the Irish county
 of Meath, “ came into Cornwall accompanied by many saints; among
 “ whom were Sinnin, the abbot, who had been at Rome with Patrick,
 “ MARUAN the monk, Germoch the king,” not merely what Dr. Bor-
 lase represents him, “ an Irish king, *as tradition says*,” but positively a
 king, as this history says, equally Irish with the rest, “ and,” as the
 Doctor adds, “ several others;” but, as this history very usefully speci-
 fies besides Maruan before, “ ELWEN, CREWENNA, HELENA‡.” These
 are

* Borlase, 370.

† See v. i.

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 4: “ Ex Vitâ Sanctæ Breacæ. ‘ Campus Breacæ in Hiberniâ,’” see
 Usher, 361, 362, “ in quo Brigida oratorium construxit, et postea monasterium, in quo
 “ fuit

are all names, so celebrated for ages in Cornwall, as to have had churches and parishes for ages denominated from them. "Breaca landed near Revyer with her company, a *part* of which," not a "*great* part," as the Doctor alleges, but only "a part," as the history avers, "was killed by Tewder*." Now "Revier," adds Leland, in an explanatory remark, "was a castle of Theodore's, on the eastern side of the mouth of the Hayle river, at present (in the opinion of *some* persons, buried in the sands†," which have buried not a little of the lands adjoining, yet began to drive only about the year 1520. Tradition, indeed, reports at the neighbouring Lanant, that the driving began in a deluge of sands, so violent and so sudden, as in the compass of two nights to bury many of the houses. The lower parts of these have actually been found since in digging, and even with furniture in some of them. Accordingly, Leland informs us, that in *his* time, so near to the very commencement of the ravages, "*most* part of the houses in the peninsula," on which the adjoining St. Ives stands, "*be sore oppressid or over-coverid* with sandes, that the stormy windes and rages castith up there; this calamité hath continuid ther *little above twenty yeres*: the *best* part of the toun *now* standith in the *south* part of the peninsula, up toward another hille, for defence from the sandes‡." Or, as Carew notes a little later in time, "the light sand, carried up by the north wind from the sea shore, *daily continueth* his covering, and marring the land adjoynant; so as the distresse of this deluge drave the inhabitants, to remove their *church* as well as their houses§." Or, as Dr.

"fuit et S. Breaca. Breaca venit in Cornubiam comitata multis sanctis, inter quos fuerunt Sinninus abbas, qui Romæ cum Patricio fuit, Maruanus monachus, Germochus rex, Elwen, Crewenna, Helena'."

* Leland's Itin. iii. 4. "Breaca appulit sub Revyer cum suis, quorum partem occidit Tewder'."

† Ibid. 16: "Revier castellum Theodori, in orientali parte ostii Hayle flu., nunc, ut quidam putant, absorptum a sabulo."

‡ Ibid. 21.

§ Carew, 148. So Norden, 42, remarks, of "Uny-juxta-Lalant," that "of late—the sande—hath—buried muche of the lande and howses, and many devises they use to prevent the *obsorption* [absorption] of the *churche*;" and, 68, observes of Piran, that "the parish" is "almost drowned with the sea sand—, in such sorte, as the inhabitantes have

Dr. Borlase subjoins to both in his Natural History, "from the mouth of
 " Heyl in Penwith, along to Bude Haven, Cornwall has lost a great
 " deal of arable ground on the northern coast, by means of the blown
 " sea-sand, which is still increasing in the parishes of St. Ives, Lannant,
 " Philac, Gwythien, St. Agnes, Piran Sand, Carantoc, Cuthbert, Pad-
 " stow; and the sand spreads every where, but where the height of
 " the cliff protects the land from its invasion †." These sands come all
 from the west, and are found upon examination to be merely the shells of
 the ocean, reduced into powder by collision between the waves and
 the rocks, then thrown up by the tides upon the beach, and finally
 blown by the winds upon the fields. Yet this torrent of fleeting par-
 ticles has been latterly begun to be stopped, even the covered land to be
 reclaimed from the waste again, by planting rushes upon it to fix the fly-
 ing soil, then spreading a coat of grass over it in some places, and so
 turning the barren wilderness into an useful dairy-ground. Amid this
 range of salt sand and powdered shells, on the east of the Hayle river,
 and on the north of Phillac creek from it, still remains the Revyer of the
 history, no longer a castle, but still an estate; deformed only in popular
 pronounciation into Rovier, yet known to be denominated Rivier in the
 legal papers of it, and actually denominated Ryvier, Revier, River, or
 Ryvyer by Leland§. Here,

"bene once alreedy forced to remove their church." In the Statute Book, Philip and Mary,
 cap. xi. "The great hurt, nuisance, and losses, that cometh and chanceth to the queen's
 "highness and her subjects, by reason of sand arising out of the sea, and driven to land by
 "storms and winds, whereby much good ground lying on the sea coasts in sundry places of
 "this realm, and especially in the county of Glamorgan, is covered with such sand rising
 "out of the sea, that there [is] no profit of the same, to the great loss of the queen's high-
 "ness and her loving subjects, and more is like to issue if speedy remedy be not therein pro-
 "vided." Commissioners of sewers are authorized to provide one "for the withstanding
 "and avoiding the outrageous course and rage of the sea." This overflow of sand upon
 Glamorganshire appears to have been later in its date than that upon Cornwall and its isles.

† Nat. Hist. 74.

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 18: "Revier: castel—, now, as sum think, drounid with sande.
 "This was Theodore's castelle.—Cayl castelle a mile by est from River—, Nikenor, a two
 "miles from Ryvier,—Carnbray—a mile west of Revier toun."—A similar torrent has op-
 pressed the Sylley isles. At St. Martin's, says Borlase, 53, "the higher parts are all one
 "common, the surface being either too stoney and shallow to make arable ground, or

Here, then, we have two martyrdoms inflicted upon two parties of Christians, both parties arriving about the same year, 400, both coming from the same country, Ireland, both landing at the mouth of the same river of Cornwall, and both murdered by the same king of Cornwall. The two tales are so exactly the same in their beginning, their middle, and their end, that credulity itself can hardly sooth its mind into a belief of their difference, and criticism must pronounce them to have been the very same originally. The story of Fingar, as we have seen before, rests upon no other authority than that of a convicted falsifier, Anselm; while the story of Breaca, as we now see, is founded upon the evidence of an ancient biographer. *That, therefore, is merely this, varied by falsehood, distorted by ignorance, and now running in one screw of curves around the right line of this.* But let me make another remark:

“covered with sand blown in from some northern coves: however, what has suffered so much from the sand in former ages,” the author referring the commencement of this dry deluge to a period much earlier than the year 1520, *“has in length of time contracted soil enough to form a turfy pasture, on which the inhabitants keep many sheep, the sheep-run being two miles long; but, below this turf, there is nothing but sand for a great depth.”* This shews the deluge to have commenced at the isles *earlier* than on the continent of Cornwall. At the isle of Samson, *“the sand,”* he adds in 63, *“some of the brightest colour I saw in all the islands, has been blown up by the northern winds, and covered great part of that which is called the Brehar hill of Samson; it is blown off again in some little breaks and channels of the hill, where I saw hedges of stone six feet under the common run of the sand-banks.”* This unites with the notice preceding, to shew, that the deluge here was *much* earlier than at St. Ives. But, as Borlase subjoins in 67, *“In several places I examined their sand, and found it to consist of small gravel, mostly broke off (as it seemed to me) by the violence of the sea from the moorstone, which lines the shores of all the islands in great plenty. The finest sand—is found only in Porthmellyn cove, on St. Mary’s. Upon examining this by a microscope, I found it to consist of globes of white transparent crystal, and talc or talk.”* The particles of the torrent, therefore, are as different from those on the northern coast of Cornwall, as are the beginnings of the two torrents. Yet another deluge has commenced at the isles, I believe, the same with our own on the continent. This, however, is only noticed in a slight manner by Borlase, and seems from his notice to be but recent in its date. *“In one part only of St. Mary’s,”* he observes, in 67, *“they have a shelly sand; and those who carry on the best husbandry use this, and find their account in it,”* while the generality use the other, though *“certain it is that all their moorstone sand contributes to vegetation no longer than whilst it retains the salt which it brings from the sea.”*

the "Theodorick king of Cornwall," in both these tales, is nothing more or less than the very Theodore of Tinmouth before, "fierce and "savage in his manners," according to Tinmouth, but, in fact, a professed Christian, the sovereign of professed Christians, the father of a "very pious" prince, and the patron of St. Petrock, on his arrival from the same country, Ireland. Thus we have "Teudric, or Theodoric," king of Glamorganshire, in Wales, about this very period; who resigned his crown, retired into a hermitage, but was forced into the tumults of life again by a Saxon invasion, headed those veterans who had always been victorious under him, attacked the pagans, beat them, but was mortally wounded in the action, and so fell a reputed martyr for Christianity*. Dr. Borlase himself, therefore, calls our king of Cornwall, "Theodorick, or Tudor;" the biographer of St. Breaca denominates him simply "Tewder;" and Leland denominates him as simply "Theodore." The very name, by its derivation from the Greek church, and by its reference to God, of itself proves him to have been, what so many other evidences have united to prove him, a Christian†. Such

* Usher, 292, from the Register of Landaff: "Glamorganix eo tempore rex erat Teudric sive Theodoricus, de quo in eodem regesto legimus: 'Rex Teudric—regnum suum commendavit filio suo Mourico, et vitam eremitalem in rupibus Dindyrn cœpit ducere. Qui cùm esset in vitâ illâ, cœperunt Saxones terram suam invadere—. De quo Teudric dicebant, cùm regnum suum teneret, quòd nunquam victus ab hostibus fuerat, sed semper victor—.' And, as Godwin continues the narrative, "hunc—invitum sui ab eremo abduxerunt, qui Tinternæ, juxta Vagam fluvium, occurrentem hostem magno prælio fudit. Sed accepto in capite vulnere (quod eum non latuit) mortifero, reditum maturavit ut inter suos expiraret," yet, "ad confluentes Vagæ et Sabrinæ spiritum emisit. Quare eo ipso in loco—ecclesiolâ excitatâ, cadaver, loculo inditum est saxeo; quem nuper, seu casu confectum seu vetustate fatiscentem, dum refici curarem, ossa reperi, post mille annos ne minimum quidem consumpta, vulneris immanis tanquam recenter facti in cranio remanente vestigio.—Loco a posteris nomen antiquitus impositum, *Merthir-Tewdrick*, quasi dicas Martyrium Theodoricæ, quem, quòd in bello ceciderit contra Christiani nominis hostes gesto, pro martyre ducendum arbitrati sunt. Postea verò contractiùs *Merthirn* appellari cœpit, et deinde (sicut hodie) *Mathern*."

† In Cornwall, we have a local appellation, exactly similar to that in Wales, and indicating some incident of a similar nature. *Merther*, a chapelry at one angle of the very large parish of Probus, in its "name—refers to the—guardian saint of the church, who, "it seems, was murdered and slayne for the Christian religion as a martyr, viz. one *Saint Cohan*,

Such a man, and such a king, *could* not have slain either “a part” of St. Breaca’s company, as her biographer witnesses him to have done, or the *whole* of St. Gwinear’s, as Anselm in his new work of superfoetation

“Cohan, a Britaine of this parish—; whose little well and consecrated chappell annexed thereto, was lately extant upon the landes of Egles Merther barton,—though now in a manner demolished by greedy searchers for money. I take this martyr to have been slayne by the Saxons, upon fore-thought malice.” In a record of “1480,” the saint is expressly styled “St. Cohan, martyr of Merther.” (Hals’s MS.) This unknown saint appears from his well, to have lived as a hermit at the place; and from the tradition, to have been slain at his hermitage, *not*, indeed, by the pagan Saxons in some very early invasion of Cornwall, as no such invasion appears either certainly or probably to have been made, but in some personal pique by that private Saxon, assuredly, who at Athelstan’s conquest of Cornwall, settled in the house so singularly denominated *Tre-Sawsen*, or the Saxon’s house, and lying about a mile to the south of the well. From his murder and his character, as a hermit and a saint, he was honoured for a martyr by the neighbouring Christians, just as we have seen Edward, Sidwell, Melor, and Melian, honoured before. His hermitage afterwards, as we have equally seen practised at St. Mawes, became a “consecrated chapell,” and was therefore “annexed” to the well. The well was thus formed like one equally noticed by Hals in the adjoining parish of Kenwyn: “St. Clare’s consecrated and walled well, chapelwise-built.” And, as “*tempore James 2d*, some of the inhabitants” of Kenwyn “pulled down the walls, and totally defaced the chapel-well, in quest” of money concealed there; “and probably succeeded;” so, from that example and this success, the chapel and well at Merther were “lately—in a manner demolished by greedy searchers for money.” The record of 1480, to which Hals refers us above, is one of 1484; the composition made between the vicar of Probus and the inhabitants of Merther, concerning the chapel at Merther; and in this the chapel is denominated “*Capella Sancti Coani, martyris, de Merther.*” This chapel is also spoken of there, as “*Instauri capellæ Sⁱ Coani,*” and “*capellæ sive instauri;*” our English words, “in store,” being first rendered into Latin as in Worcestre, 88: “*habuit in stauro de auro Franciæ in cistâ—circa septem millia marcarum;*” or, as in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 771, “*instaurum, quod habuit in Werdall—tunc (ut æstimatum fuit) bene valebat 400 marcas et ampliùs;*” being then used as in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, i. 483, “*omne illorum instaurum abstulerunt,*” in i. 756, “*totum instaurum;*” and in Wilkins’s *Concilia*, ii. 140, “*de ecclesiarum instauro ipsius custodes—quolibet anno compotum fideliter reddant,—nec ipsum instaurum in alios usus nisi ecclesiæ ullatenus convertatur,*” for the contingent benefactions made to the “truncus,” or trunk, which the clergyman of the church alone is here permitted to set up for receiving benefactions; and thence coming from the treasury of a church, to signify (as in this record) a church itself. Yet neither the Benedictine (the second) edition of Du Fresney’s Glossary, nor Carpentier’s Supplement to it, notice this last signification of the word. Our record alone does this.

upon

upon the original story describes him doing; "for fear lest they should "turn his subjects from their ancient religion." They and he were already turned, and had all equally renounced the stupid sottishness of druidism for the illuminated good sense of the Gospel; the blackness of midnight darkness just rendered more visible by the twinkling of two or three stars of heaven, for the bright effulgence of the Gospel-sun. He actually slew "a part," however, of Breaca's company, a *small* part, a part so *very* small indeed, that we hardly can even *conjecture* of whom in particular it consisted. But he hurt not the large remainder; he touched not a hair of *their* heads, and seized not a thread of *their* garments. He even assaulted the other or others, from some misconception of their quality, from some misapprehension of their design, and from some suspicion that they were pirates, landing under the walls of his castle by night, in order to surprise it. He instantly discovered his mistake, probably, but not before he had killed one or two of their party, sent, perhaps, as messengers to the palace, in order to explain the cause of their coming; there run through the body by the sentinels, in the first and hasty tumult of alarm; yet having breath enough left them before they died, to say who *they* were, and who *she* was.

Theodore would then receive them with the hospitality and the respect that was due to the sex of some, to the rank of several, and to the religion of all. We accordingly find in this very life of St. Breaca, that he gave them their full liberty of acting; that he permitted them to travel over his country as they pleased; that he allowed them to settle as they liked in any part of it: to build hermitages, or to erect churches, agreeably to their fancies. This part of his conduct forms a full and pregnant evidence singly as it stands in the Life, detached from all other testimonies; of his own Christianity, of the Christianity of his subjects, and of the public profession of Christianity by both before. But Dr. Borlase, with more policy than probity, has suppressed the narrations which prove this; and for the same reason, I fear, has suppressed all reference to the narrator, even for the facts which he himself recites from him. Let me, however, produce what he has thus concealed.

"Breaca,"

“Breaca,” adds the biographer, as cited immediately afterwards by Leland, “came to Pencair,” a hill, as Leland notes, in the parish of Pembro; “and came to Trenewith,” a little from the parish-church of Pembro, as Leland equally notes, where the parish-church stood before it was removed to Pembro*. Breaca thus moved unmolested across the breadth of the kingdom, and went from the northern to the southern sea of it. She moved also, accompanied by the Irish king; as Leland speaks of “S. Germocus, a chirch 3 miles from S. Michael’s Mont by est south est, and a mile from the se; *his tumb is yet seene ther. S. Germok ther buried. S. Germoke’s chair in the chirch-yard. S. Germoke’s wellle a litle without the chirch-yard †.*” The well and the tomb are now lost, overlooked and forgotten in the frigid philosophy of Protestantism towards all relics of ancient saints, and in the idiot contemplation of Germochus as an ancient Papist. Yet what is called his chair remains in perfect preservation, a covered seat of moorstone at the north-eastern corner of the chapel-yard, turning its face toward the south-west, having its front supported by three stone pillars, which form two elliptical arches of six feet in height for the entrance, presenting a bench within more than six feet long, but divided into three compartments, for the king (as tradition says) and his two assessors, yet shewing two smaller pillars, one upon each side of the king’s seat. These unite with the end-walls of the whole, to compose three elliptical arches; at the centre of the middle arch is a man’s head cut in moorstone with a coronet upon it; in the front also, at the very summit of the building, is another head, smaller in size, but equally wearing a coronet ‡. This therefore is apparently not that original chair of rock, which we should have viewed with more veneration in its rude and rustic simplicity of style, than we can view this pompous and magnificent seat. *That* however, in an equal piety of

* Leland’s Itin. iii. 15: “‘Breaca venit ad Pencair. Breaca venit ad Trenewith.’” Ibid. 16: “Pencair, an hille in Pembro paroch, vulgò S. . . . [Breag’s].—Trenewith, “a little from the paroch [church] of Pembro, wher the paroch chirch [was] or ever it was set at Pembro.”

† Leland’s Itin. iii. 16.

‡ From the information of the thinking and judicious rector of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Marshall.

spirit and poverty of taste, has been put for *this*; and by a family of Mil-liton, which is said with truth to have lived at Pengersick about half a mile from the chapel, but is also reported with falsehood to have built this chair for the convenience of resting themselves when they came to the chapel. They built it undoubtedly in honour of Germochus, and *since* the days of Leland; *his* chair of Germochus being “in the church-yard,” and theirs *out of* it; *his* having been destroyed by those who destroyed the chair of St. Mawe, the fanatical part of the Protestants in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, and *theirs* supplying its place §. So much a friend to Christianity was that king of Cornwall, who thus permitted his brother-king of Ireland to settle in peace and solitude under his protection! But “Breaca,” adds another biographer, the writer of the life of one of her companions, St. Elwin, as he is also cited by Leland, “ERECTED A CHURCH in Trenewith,” a place (as Leland has already told us) in the parish of Pembro, “and Talmeneth,” a place (as he now tells us) in the same parish ||. This therefore is our present parish of Breâg, the secular name of which thus appears to be Pembro, as that of Veryan is Elerkie. The highest hill in this parish is denominatéd Tregonin Hill at present, from the principal house and estate upon it, once a place of very considerable importance, as having a large building and a chapel at it. On a part of this estate is a tenement called Castle Pencayre, running up to the summit of the hill, and there bordering upon a circular kind of fort at another part of Tregonin, extending above a hundred yards in diameter, fenced (as appeared lately in digging) by two walls of masonry, with a ditch between them wide enough for three men to stand abreast in it, but now defaced by persons on the quest for tin, and for *treasure supposed to be buried there*. This therefore is plainly the very “Cair Kenin, alias Gonyn and Conin,” or “the Castle of Conan,” in Leland, which “stoode in the hille of Pencair; there yet apperith 2

§ Leland's Itin. iii. 14: “Milatan dwellith at Pergrouiswik,” in p. 16, called “Garsike, alias Pengarsike.” This family ended in heiresses under Elizabeth. (Carew, 152.)

|| Ibid. 15, 16: “Breaca ædificavit eccl. in Trenewith et Talmeneth,” ut legitur in “Vitâ S. Elwini.—Talmeneth, a mansion-place in Pembro.”

“diches.”

“diches ¶.” The castle was afterwards, in a less perturbed state of the Cornish kingdom, changed into a house, and removed lower down to Tre-gonin; this retaining still the appellation of reference to Conan, but carrying not the same appearance of hostility with it. Much lower than Pencayre, and about two miles from it, is *Tre-newith*, or the New House; an accompaniment to the church when it was set originally here, and a site peculiarly pleasant for both. Between Tregonin and Trenewith, nearer to the former than the latter, being from the latter a mile at least, is the estate and village of *Talmeneth*, now denominated Tolmenor, standing high on the side of Tregonin Hill, and preserving the original name of the hill, the name which it bore before Conan built his castle, Tal (C. and W.) high, Mynydd (W. and C.) a mountain. This is evidently the *Pembro* of Leland, to which the church was removed from Trenewith; Pen Bre (C. and W.) signifying the mountain-height, and so answering to Tal Mynydd. The name of *Pembro*, indeed, is now lost, from that principle of inattention to the Cornish language, which has pervaded the whole mass of the Cornish people at present, and vitiated *Talmeneth* into Tolmenor. Yet we now understand from all, what is really meant by the strange expression of Breaca’s building a church “in Trenewith and Talmeneth;” it meaning merely, that Breaca “built the church of Trenewith at Talmeneth *,” a site so anciently selected for it upon its removal, that tradition is totally silent concerning its prior position, and that even inquisitiveness, for want of Leland’s intelligence, falsely believes its site to have been always the same †. Breaca thus appears to have FOUND A CHURCH ALREADY ERECTED, and TO HAVE ERECTED ANOTHER BY TRANSFERRING THAT. She rebuilt the old church of the parish upon a new site, at her own expense; as she appears from the presence of an Irish king in her company, to have been a woman of considerable fortune. She thus settled near the beginning of the famous indent into the southern shore, so deeply scooped out (as appears from

¶ Leland’s Itin. iii. 16: “Castrum Conani” on the margin. “Sum say that Conan had a sun caullid Trisframe.”

* Ibid. 15: “Breaca ædificavit eccl. in Trenewith et [ad] Talmeneth’.”

† For the local circumstances here, I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Marshall, late rector of the parish, equally friendly and judicious.

tradition*, from remains†, and particularly from the insulated state of that "Rock in a Wood," which has given it the name of Mount's Bay) by the working billows of the sea alone; so famous therefore for wrecks, from ships being drawn by the influx of the tide into it; and so infamous also for the conduct of its inhabitants towards the wrecked. This conduct probably attracted Breaca to the parish, to reform what is so hostile to every principle of Christianity, so brutal to the owners of ships or wares in danger of being lost, so barbarous to the men, women, or children, in the very act of perishing; and what still remains a strong brand upon the fronts of the parishioners, in the eyes of all the other Cornish at present. With her settled Germochus the king, even at Germo a little on the west, but in her parish of Breâg. CREWENNE settled at Crowan near both, a church still dedicated to St. Crewenne, and a little on the north. But others of them seem to have separated to a distance from all, SINNINUS to St. Sennan, in the parish of Buriën; HELEN to Helland in the east, a parish near Bodmin, originally denominated from and still dedicated to her; MARUAN, *not* to Morwinstow on the north of Stratton, as the name may lead us to suppose, *till* we find this parish is denominated from a *female* saint, Morvenna, but to Lan Moran, popularly Lamorran, in the two Valors Lamoren, the parish and church of St. Moren ‡; and ELWIN to St. Allen, or (as called in the early Valor) St. Alun, dedicated to St. Alleyn. So widely did these Irish saints spread themselves over the country! So evidently was the king of Cornwall then, so evidently were his subjects too, all professors of Christianity! And so clearly does that narration of facts, which has been produced by Dr. Borlase to prove the continuing druidism of Cornwall in 460, prove directly

* Camden, 136: "Sinus lunatus admittitur, Mountsbay vocant, in quo oceanum, avido meatu irruentem, terras demersisse fama obtinet."

† Leland's Itin. iii. 18: "There hath bene much land devourid of the sea, betwixt Pensandes and Mousehole. Ther is an old legend" or church-lesson for the feast "of S. Michael, [which speaketh of] a tounlet in this part now defaced, and lying under the water." Itin. vii. 118: "In the bay betwixt the Mont and Pensants, be fownd neere the lowe water marke rootes of trees yn dyvers places, as a token of the ground wasted."

‡ Leland's Itin. iii. 28: "Caullid ^{Lan} La Moran creke of the chirch of S. Moran."

the reverse, when it is detailed in all its amplitude of incidents, when the whole is allowed to be greater than a part; and evince the predominance of Christianity over druidism, from the one end of Cornwall to the other*.

SECTION VIII.

IN this manner did druidism expire through all Cornwall and through all Britain! Yet it has left some faint traces of its long existence among us, in our retention of customs not wholly divested of their idolatry, and in our continuation of expressions half-idolatrous at present. Even a fond-

* As to the part of Breaca's company, that was unwarily slain by Theodore; because they are not specified in the Life of Breaca, we can barely conjecture who they were. They were, I conjecture therefore, two saints thus named by William of Worcester. "SANCTUS JUSTUS MARTIR," he says, "jacet in parochiâ Sancti Youest; distat a Pensans versus occidentem per 5 miliaria, super littus occidentalissimæ partis Angliæ." (P. 126.) "SANCTUS MORTANUS [MOTRANUS] MARTIR," he adds, "est in parochiâ Sancti Mortani [Motrani]; distat ultra villam Pensans per 4 miliaria, super littus maris." (P. 126.) These are ranked as martyrs, we see, in the *Sanctologies* of Cornwall; yet have no history appendant to their names. These stand recorded as martyrs, but were made martyrs we know not when or why. We may therefore refer them with full propriety to this ruling incident in the history of our Cornish saints, in which we know some to have been slain, and are sure the slain would be considered as martyrs. We thus find martyrs *without* names in one part of our narration, then find martyrs *with* names, but *without* any narration annexed, and finally fill up the chasm in *that* by an insertion from *this*; taking the names of the one, attaching the narration of the other, so making two incomplete notices unite into one complete. In reverence to their remains as martyrs, the body of St. Motran seems to have been begged by a parish a little distant to the south-west, to have been buried in its church, and therefore to have lent it his name, now varied a little into "ecclesia Sancti Maderni" in the first Valor, but into "Madern, alias St. Madern," in the second. In the same manner the relics of St. Just, his brother in martyrdom, were carried to the parish-church directly beyond that to the west, and gave it his own appellation; which is popularly pronounced at this day in Cornwall, not St. Youest, as William represents it above, but St. Yst, or rather St. Est, a Roman name adopted by him at baptism in supersedence of his Irish name before. I thus account for two saints that are well known by the denominations of their parishes in Cornwall, and one of them even as the denominator of two parishes; but the history of both whom has been hitherto hid in the darkness of midnight.

ness for druidism at large has lately prevailed among us, in an extraordinary degree; the reading part of the nation taking their tone of thinking or talking from our writers, and these, like our delineators of natural religion, tricking out their

Idol of Majesty Divine

in all the borrowed decorations of Christianity itself. Men, who were impressed with a masculine reverence for Christianity as the sun of the soul in illumination; men, who felt a dignified fondness for Christianity as the life of the soul in exhilaration, have recently seemed to fall in love with druidism by looking long upon its face; and have thus described a mere heathenism, that participated in all the idolatries of heathenism, that was even deformed with some scars of idolatry peculiar to itself, to be what was essentially opposite and avowedly opposed to it, a kind of patriarchal religion, a sort of anticipated Christianity. Under this wild eccentricity of learning itself, Dr. Stukeley is well known in a sermon over a deceased clergyman, to have ventured with the approbation of many, of even myself also, then very young, upon denominating the divine a *druid*. Mr. Collins the poet has even presumed to fix the title of a *druid* upon the head of his brother-poet Thomson; the name of *druid* fastening strong upon the fancy of a poet, and his untutored intellect confounding a *druid* with a *bard*. Then came Dr. Borlase, a Christian firm in faith and steady in practice, yet rising into the temerity of telling us, that "in the remote corners of the island druidism had taken deep root, and it would not give way to weak efforts" from Christianity itself. And Mr. Macpherson, a man of brighter genius than Dr. Borlase, more bold in his spirit, more irreligious in his affections, took a larger scope in his vindication of British heathenism, by denying the Britons to have been idolaters at all ¶. In this state of the national mind, had the insanity of France been transplanted into the soil of Britain, we should have had, perhaps, a kind of modified madness among ourselves; and instead of the horrors of annihilation authoritatively denounced to mankind, or the very front of atheism impudently turned up in defiance against Heaven, we should have had druidism, with all its fooleries of grossest idolatry, and all

¶ Hist. of Manchester, octavo, vol. ii. p. 91.

its sanguinariness of human sacrifices, established in our isle again. But as the wildfire of passion for druidism had not such a scope of mischief given it, and will probably be extinguished for ever by these animadversions upon it, we can with more calmness contemplate some relics of druidism among us, innoxious of themselves, though not innocent in their nature, directly calculated to catch the eye of a druidical antiquary, yet not noticed by the pen of any hitherto.

The fires of May-day are well known to antiquaries, as the *Beal-tine* of Ireland; being large fires upon the hills lighted on that day by the druids, and giving the appellation of *Beal-tine* to the day itself in the Irish language at present. These consisted each of two fires together, and all the cattle of the country, being driven between the two, thus “passed through the fire” to this seemingly mild Moloch of Britain, Belus or the Sun; the ceremony being considered only as a sort of religious consecration of them to the Sun, and an useful amulet of protection for them from all contagious disorders through the year*. Yet heathenism could not lose its dreadful sanguinariness, and druidism would not resign its human sacrifices. Whatever antiquaries have dared to announce of these May-day fires, as if this was the whole of what was done in honour of Belus; yet much more was done, I find upon examination, and the Belus of Britain was actually the very Moloch of Canaan in savageness. Language is often expressive, where history is silent; and a cloud reflects the radiance of the sun, when its orb has sunk below the horizon. “In those days,” says Martin concerning the days of druidism from tradition in the Western Isles of Scotland, yet is not fully sensible himself of the import of his own information, “*malefactors were burnt between two fires,*” those very fires of Belus, concerning which he had been speaking immediately before, and to which what he speaks immediately afterwards is of course referred; “*hence, when they would express a man to be in a great strait, they say ‘he is between the two fires of Bel’†.*” Persons condemned to death as oblations to Belus, it is plain

* Bishop O'Brien's Irish Dictionary, Paris, 1768, quarto, under *Beal-tine*.

† P. 105, edit. 2d.

from the *proverbial* nature of this language, were *frequently* tied to a stake in the narrow interval between each fire, and there roasted to death by the operation of each; a sacrifice peculiarly horrible to our minds, and an everlasting disgrace upon the memory of druidism! So apparently does this slight intimation shew us the druidical Belus, worshipped nearly, and, perhaps, wholly, as was

Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
To his grim idol.

Yet, to shew how tenderly the spirits of authors feel at present for the honour of heathenism, let us observe the conduct of Dr. Newton himself, the grave, the learned, the theological author, in his annotations upon this text of Milton; as he first notes Moloch to be called *horrid*, "*because of the human sacrifices, which were made to him,*" who is supposed by some (he says) "*to be the same as Saturn, to whom the heathens sacrificed their children,*" and by others to be *the sun*," to whom we see the druids here offering human sacrifices. "*Not that,*" he adds in contradiction equally to Milton and to himself, "*they always actually burnt their children in honour of this idol; but sometimes made them only leap over the flames, or pass nimbly between two fires,*" as the druids made the cattle pass. Yet Moloch, he instantly subjoins, was an idol, "*having—his arms extended, to receive the miserable victims which were to be consumed in the flames.*" A valley near Jerusalem, he says also, "*was called—Tophet from the Hebrew Toph a drum, drums and such-like noisy instruments being used to drown the cries of the miserable children, who were offered to this idol.*" And "*Gehenna—is in several places of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself, made the name and type of Hell, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to Moloch, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices.*" So plainly is Dr. Newton's tenderness repelled, by the very facts which he produces together with it! Yea, so plainly was the Belus of Britain the very Moloch of Canaan, by not having "*malefactors*" merely, but children

dren devoted as malefactors, sacrificed to him ! So plainly too did the Britons “ *sacrifice their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan; and the land was polluted with blood !*”

There was, indeed, another kind of worship paid to this devil, infinitely more harmless in itself. This was *not*, we may be sure, “ from the custom practised by the druids in the isles,” as Martin avers it was, “ of *extinguishing all the fires in the parish until the tythes were paid; and upon payment of them the fires were kindled in each family, and never till then †.*” Such a rule could never have been instituted *before* parishes were formed and tythes established by Christianity. But as Keating himself expressly remarks concerning May-day, “ *all the inhabitants of Ireland quenched their fires on that day, and kindled them again out of some part of the fire*” of Beal §. This custom was afterwards converted probably, as Martin’s intimation suggests to us, into a political engine for compelling the payment of tythes before May-day. The fires were continued in Ireland, we know, for ages after Christianity was professed; and the political application of them by Christianity seems here to be attested in the isles. Such were the relics of druidism, as remaining mixed with Christianity in the isles, and mixed or unmixed in Ireland !

Nor were nor are all relics of druidism confined, either to Ireland or to the isles. Some still adhere to the language of France, and some still hang upon the language of England : yet they have never been pointed out, in either the one or the other.

There is a petty kind of oath among the people of France, which the vulgar speak without meaning, and the gentry hear without understanding, while both understand it to mean an oath of affirmation or an exclamation of swearing. *Parblieu* and *Sacrelieu* are two terms of averment,

† P. 105, edit. 2d.

§ Bishop Obrien’s Dictionary under *Beal-tine* itself.

very common in the rapid surprises of conversation among them, referring expressly to something sacred, and carrying expressly the name of a sacred person. The name and the reference are equally of and to this very god Belus, still pronounced *Beul* in Irish, but once by transposition pronounced *Beleu* in Gaulish, I believe, and since contracted into *Bleu* in the celerity of conversation. So we have *Blow-mon* or *Bleu-mon* in Welsh, and *Bleu-mon* or *Blew-mon* in Cornish, for a Moor or an Ethiopian, as (I suppose) a Man of the Sun ||. This *Bleu* or *Beleu* had been considered *sacred* as a god, and as a god made *the object of vows or oaths*, among the druidical heathens of Gaule; even *for that reason*, as religion itself cannot soon obliterate the still-recurring usages of language, continued *sacred* and *an object* through all succeeding ages to the present.

Just so, but with another deity of druidical heathenism, we Englishmen have a curse among us, that had its source among our remotest ancestors, and has come down to us on the current of familiar conversation. "Deuce take you," we all know as an execration merely sportive in itself, yet as an execration too frequent on our tongues, and referring evidently to some daemon or deity now forgotten. Skinner recognises the execration from Junius, then refers it with Junius to the Saxon *Duef*, a spectre, a phantom, and finally interprets this mere phantom or mere spectre, with a most hardy violence, into "the Devil" himself. But the name, says Dr. Johnson, is written "*Deuse* more properly than *Deuce*," "*Junius*, from *Dusius*, the name of a certain species of evil spirits;" and signifies "the Devil." We are thus referred to a Saxon word, *Dues*, that (as Skinner confesses) occurs only in Junius, and to another word, or the same, *Dusius*, that has not even its language assigned; for the original signification of *Deuce* as a spectre or as a spirit, and for the posterior as the Devil himself. All proves no satisfactory etymon to have been yet discovered. But there is one, I think, in the appellation of a British

|| Richards notes the former, though Owen omits it; and Pryce omits the latter, though Lhuyd (233) notes it. We have also *Manac* (Welsh, see Lhuyd, 218), *Mon* (Armoric), and *Man* (Erse), for human kind in general.

deity, the deity of a whole nation of Britons, even of the Brigantes of Yorkshire. At Gretland near Halifax there, “on the summit of a hill “inaccessible on every side but one,” and therefore the site of a *camp* assuredly, “was dug up this votive altar” of the Romans, as in a *Roman* camp assuredly, “inscribed (it seems) to the topical god of the Brigantes ¶.” The material words of the inscription are these: “DUI Ci. “Brig. et Num. ^{AV}GG,” to the “Duis of the state of the Brigantes and “to the Divinities of the two Augusti,” Antoninus and Geta mentioned upon another side as then consuls *. Here, therefore, we have the very deity before us that was adored by the idolatrous Britons at first, that in a strange facility of faith was adopted afterwards by the Romans into their growing family of deities, and has been transmitted to us from both as a deity, to whom vows were made as altars were erected by both. Yet what is the import of this appellation? “Whether,” says Camden, “that DUI be God himself, whom the British,” more properly the Welsh, “now call *Diw*, or whether he be the peculiar local genius of “the Brigantes, let the learned inquire †.” But “Mr. Ward thinks,” as Horsley informs us, that “DUI, the name of this British deity, is a “corruption of ΔΕΥΣ, which (as Hesychius says) was the same as ΖΕΥΣ—; “and the Britons could not but frequently hear the name of this deity “from the Greeks, who came hither with the Romans, as we find by the “Greek inscriptions ‡.” Thus too much learning serves only like too much light, to dazzle the eye, and to mislead the man. This very *god* of the Brigantes, this very *Jupiter* of the Greeks or Romans, is actually a *goddess*, and is *therefore* denominated DUI. In the two only dialects of the Celtic which have preserved the appellative for this deity, we have *Duw* (Welsh), *Doe* (Armoric), signifying God, *Does* or *Doues* (Armo-

¶ Camden, 563: “Ad Gretland, in cacumine montis in quem nullus nisi unâ parte accessus, effossa fuit hæc ara votiva deo civitatis Brigantum topico, ut videtur, posita.”

* See it in Camden, 563; and in Horsley, plate xxxiv.

† Camden, 563: “An vero DUI illud sit *Deus*, quem *Diw* nunc vocant Britanni, an peculiaris Brigantum genius topicus, disquirant doctiores.”

‡ Horsley, 313.

ric), and *Duvyies* or *Duwies* (Welsh), signifying Goddess. Accordingly we find an inscription equally votive as the preceding, but discovered close to the Picts Wall in Cumberland, and addressed expressly “to the *goddess nymph* of the Brigantes,” even “for the safety of Plautilla the consort of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus—, and all his divine house,” by a “quæstor devoted to the deity of Augustus §.” So far had spread, with the *successes* of the Brigantes, the worship of *their* goddess; in the mean propensity of mankind to idolize success, that worship sallying forth from the wilds of the West-riding, and from the cathedral of the worship perhaps (as the name suggests) at *Dewsborough* near Wakefield ||, to the vicinity of Lancashire, and into the north of Cumberland. We even find another proof of that propensity and this worship, in an inscription discovered at Chester, “to the *goddess nymph* of the Brigantes *.” We find even a third in Scotland; at Middleby in Anandale being discovered under the year 1732, within the ruins of a Roman temple that was only 36 feet by 12 without the wall, a statue of a *goddess* exhibited at full length as in a niche, wearing on her bushy but curled head of hair a helmet, that was crested with leaves of olive above, and encircled with a mural crown below; having wings to her shoulders, a belt about her middle, and a shield by her side, a spear in her right hand, *a globe in her left, and a Gorgon’s head on her breast*, with an inscription at her foot which at once appropriates all as “sacred to *Brigantia*, and erected by Amandus the architect under the injunction of the emperor Julian †.” Thus had the

DUIS

§ Horsley, 269: “Deæ Nymphæ Brig. quod voverat pro salute Plautillæ Co. Invictæ Dom. nostri Invicti Imp. M. Aurelii Severi Antonini Pii Fel. Cæs. Aug. totiusque domus divinæ ejus M. Cocceius Nigrinus Q. Aug. N. devotus libens susceptum S. Læto ii.” See also Gibson’s Camden at the end for Holland’s insertions.

|| Camden, 565: “*Dewsborough* sub colle excelso positum; an nomen habuerit a DUIS illo quem modò dixi deo topico non dixerim, nomen sane non abludit, sonat enim *Duis Burgum*.”

* Horsley, 315: “Deæ Nymphæ Brig.”

† Horsley, plate xxxiv. Scotland, one added with two others after the narration was printed, and with them therefore not described by it, p. 207. But Mr. Gough in his *Britannia*,

DUIs of the Brigantes in Yorkshire, from the conquests of those Brigantes over Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland, and Anandale, all attributed assuredly to the influence of *her* patronage, become “the goddess nymph of the Brigantes” in two of these conquered counties, and at last “the goddess Brigantia” herself in one of them. She was from those very successes worshipped, with peculiar reverence, by the very Romans; having a vow recorded formally upon an altar to her, for all the imperial family at one time; having a statue erected to her in a Roman temple, by the express order of an emperor at another: she was actually dressed like Pallas herself, but like a Pallas victorious over the world; and was restored therefore by an emperor with peculiar zeal, when he wanted to make his subjects as vile apostates as himself from Christianity. Yet at last she appears to be only the *Deuce*, that (without knowing who or what or whence she is) we bandy about in our conversation at present.

So completely has this species of heathen stupidity which we call druidism, a species indeed less stupid than most others, as retaining that vivid element of all possible religiousness the immortality of the soul, yet so sottish as to debase it with the transmigration of souls, and so sensualized as to institute clubs of husbands using the wives of all in common, been swept away from our minds or memories throughout Cornwall and throughout England; that even antiquaries can catch a glimpse of it only in those cobwebs of history, which grow gradually finer as they are left to be extended, and at last assume a brilliancy of colours from their length of continuance, the very customs of our ancestors, or the very suggestions of our language! So happily did the

tannia, iii. 323, has described it from Pennant's Appendix to Tour, Part ii. 1772, 409; and adds thus, “it is pity Mr. P. did not procure a correct drawing of this curious figure.” Is Mr. Gough's then this or another? The inscription is “Brigantiæ S. Amandus Arcitectus
“ex imperio Imp. I.”

Sun.

Sun of Wisdom arise upon the besotted world in the form of Christianity, when

——— now went forth the morn,
Such as in highest heav'n, array'd in gold
Empyrean; from before her vanish'd night,
Shot through with orient beams.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.
